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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SOCIAL CLASS AND ATTITUDES IN ALBERTA, 1971

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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IN

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Social Class and Attitudes in Alberta, 1971" submitted by Donna Marie Poetschke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science.

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Date May 14, 1976

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the relationship between social class and class attitudes in Alberta as manifested in survey responses concerning 1971 political issues. The project was developed in response to the lack of information about class and class politics in contemporary Alberta since the last major analyses dealt with the class structure of Alberta only during the period 1905 to the mid-forties.

In this thesis, a method is employed for distinguishing between inaccurate and accurate class perceivers, or in other words, between those individuals who demonstrate some degree of class consciousness and those who do not. Class attitudes, concerning 1971 political issues, are examined in order to determine whether the accurate class perceivers have more consistent political attitude structures than the inaccurate class perceivers.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the relationship between social class and hypothesized class related attitudes in Alberta as manifested in survey responses concerning 1971 political issues.

The inquiry will be conducted in two stages. In a primary stage, a sample of Alberta's population will be broken down into classes *vis a vis* subjective identification and socio-economic status. The second stage will consist of an investigation of the political attitudes exhibited by those classes determined in the first stage. The goal is to determine whether classes in Alberta can be distinguished by their differing structures of political attitudes.

This project was developed in response to the lack of information about class and class politics in contemporary Alberta. For instance, one of the last major analyses of Alberta to deal with class was C. B. Macpherson's.[1] Using a Marxist framework for analysis,[2] Macpherson concluded that Alberta was essentially dominated by one class, i.e., "mainly *petite bourgeois*,"[3] and that this class consisted of farmers and small businessmen. He saw Alberta as being relatively homogeneous with respect to economic activity and suggested that since a majority of the population were in similar economic positions in the system of production (either farmers or small businessmen), they would also occupy similar class positions.

There is substantial evidence to indicate that Alberta, by 1971, had changed significantly from the 1940's described by Macpherson. With respect to economic activity, census data illustrates that Alberta, while still dependent upon agricultural production, was no longer strictly an agricultural province in 1971. There are fewer people involved in agricultural production and many more involved in other forms of economic activity. There has been a shift in population, from being predominantly rural-based in the 1940's to having an urban-based majority in 1971. The indication is that agriculture offers fewer economic opportunities and that the labour force is more dependent upon the diverse forms of economic activity found in urban areas.

Given that the criterion for determining classes is based upon similar positions within the system of production and that economic activity in 1971 is diverse as compared to Alberta's earlier historical periods, is there also a diversity of social classes? This question will be examined with reference to a first hypothesis which states that: because Alberta is more economically diverse in terms of the labour force than it was thirty years ago, it is likely that there is more diversity in terms of social classes in 1971. Diversity of economic activity will be used to compare Alberta in 1971 with 1941; socio-economic status and subjective identification will be used to determine classes in 1971.

Subjective class will be compared to socio-economic status to determine whether there is any relationship between objective and subjective class position. If the relationship between subjective class position does not match the objective information then we will assume that the individuals in these particular cases have inaccurately perceived their class position. The purpose of this exercise is to divide the sample into two class groupings: the accurate perceivers of class position and the inaccurate perceivers. For the purposes of comparison there will be an upper, middle and lower class in each of these groupings.

It has been proposed that by 1971 significant changes in the form of greater diversification had taken place in the realm of economic activity and that this could allow for diverse social classes. Another question can be posed: if there is a greater diversity of economic activity and if there are diverse classes in Alberta in 1971, do the differing classes, as a whole, have varying structures of political attitudes? In response to this question, a second hypothesis had been derived. It states that: classes in Alberta can be differentiated on the basis of their differing structures of political attitudes.

The implication of the second hypothesis are threefold. First, if classes can be differentiated with respect to differing structures of political attitudes, this means that at the very least there was a diversity of political attitudes in 1971. Second, this may mean that some Albertans are becoming more conscious of their particular class interests as opposed to the interests of other classes. This would imply that some Albertans have a rational or an objective economic basis for their stands on particular political issues. In most cases, however, we will probably find that the "objective conditions of individuals and their conscious understanding and activity"[4] do not coincide. Third, there is a possibility that the diverse political attitudes of classes, particularly those of the lower versus the upper, will eventually develop into opposing political stands and that these diverse stands will have to be represented by distinct political parties.

A final implication results from a claim made by Macpherson. Macpherson suggested that because Alberta up to the 1940's was dominated by one major class with similar political interests, there was no need for more than one dominant political party to represent Albertans' political interests.[5] This assumption was based on the fact the a majority of Albertans were involved in similar forms of economic activity and therefore would have similar economic demands on the provincial and federal governments. It is suggested that with the appearance of a diversity of economic activity and diverse social classes with particular sets of political interests, in the future one major political party in Alberta may not be enough. The change from a dominant one-party system to a party system in which an opposition party plays a significant role in the legislature may be a necessary change. This is only a suggested implication, not a question which can be dealt with definitely in this analysis.

Throughout the analysis reference will be made to the years preceding 1971 and to the years directly preceding 1941; the main focus, however, is on the early 1940's as compared with 1971. The reason for using this focal point is that up until the early 1940's, Alberta was predominantly agricultural and rural; later in the 1940's, 1947 and on,[6] agricultural and rural predominance experienced rapid decline. Alberta in the early 1940's marks a pivotal point between the formative years, 1905-1946, and the maturing years, 1947-1971. It will be demonstated that the changes which took place in Alberta between 1947 and 1971 are more dramatic than during any other period.

This thesis consists of four major substantive chapters. Chapter II is devoted to a comparison of Alberta before 1971 with Alberta of 1971 to demonstrate that the province was more economically heterogeneous, at least in terms of the labour force, in 1971 than it was during any other period--particularly up to the early 1940's.

Chapter III outlines some of the major analytical problems encountered while conducting a class analysis. A particular feature of the chapter is a brief discussion of some of the historical reasons why class differences were not, and still may not be important to Albertans'.

In Chapter IV, the method of analysis used to determine the class positions of the sample is portrayed. Included is a socio-economic and demographic description of the classes. Chapters II and IV deal specifically with the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis is examined in Chapter V. The results of the correlations of class and attitudes toward political issues will be reported and analyzed.

A concluding chapter will review the findings and present suggestions for further research

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1] C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: The Theory and Practice of a Quasi-Party System* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[2] Macpherson states that in a Marxist class analysis, class positions are assessed in terms of "how much freedom they [people] retain over the disposal of their own labour, and how much control they exercise over the disposal of others' labour." Ibid., p. 225.

[3] Ibid., p. 246.

[4] Leo Johnson, "The Development of Class in Canada in the Twentieth Century," in *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 142.

[5] Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

[6] The year 1947 is important because of the Leduc No. 1 oil well, i.e., the first productive oil well in Alberta. This was the beginning of the changes that were to take place in Alberta. For further reference see *Edmonton Journal*, 14 February 1976, p. 25.

CHAPTER II

SOME BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS FOR A STUDY OF CLASS IN ALBERTA

Part of the overall goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that Alberta was not as economically homogeneous in 1971 as it was in the past. This will be established through a two part discussion.

The first section will review some of the literature which dealt explicitly with Alberta up to, and including, the 1940's.[1] Special reference will be made to C. B. Macpherson's Democracy in Alberta and J. Burnet's Next-Year Country both of which, using different methods, deal to some extent with class. From this literature, a fairly broad picture of the extent to which Alberta was economically and attitudinally homogeneous will, hopefully, emerge.

The second section compares Alberta's earlier periods, 1911 through 1961, with 1971 in order to determine whether the province has become relatively more economically heterogeneous. The distribution of the labour force in industry is a good indicator of economic diversity. Therefore this variable will be considered in some detail. Since the agricultural industry has maintained an important position in Alberta, this occupational group will be considered separately. It will be demonstrated that over the past forty years, the number of people involved directly in agricultural production has decreased. A direct result of a decrease in the labour force involved in primary production is the expanding urban population; people are moving to urban areas in order to find alternative types of employment.

Perspectives on the Past

Democracy in Alberta was one of the last major works to discuss class in Alberta to any significant extent and in it, C. B. Macpherson concluded that the province was "mainly petite bourgeois."[2] Macpherson used Marxist categories to define class and therefore attempted a project quite different from the class analysis in this thesis where class is defined in terms of subjective identification and socio-economic status.

Even though Macpherson's class categorization differs from ours, he does provide information about Alberta in its earlier period which is comparable to our data. It is therefor worthwhile to review his findings.

Macpherson concluded that Alberta was largely petite bourgeois where petite bourgeois is defined as a class of people who are mainly independent producers. Independent producers refers to labourers or workers who possess all of the means of production necessary to produce a particular object. Rather than having to sell their labour to someone who owns the means of production, i.e., capital, instruments, land, and so on, the producers are completely independent.

Macpherson suggests that farmers and small businessmen fit into the class category of petite bourgeoisie. For instance, both farmers and small businessmen own the "means or production," i.e., a farmer owns the land and the equipment used in farming and, a small businessman owns his own store, inventory, and the instruments used for the business. Farmers and small businessmen are "independent producers" in the sense that they work for themselves and can employ other people as labourers.

Macpherson described Alberta as a petite bourgeois province because at least half of the population were either farmers or farm workers and, another large proportion of the labour force were small businessmen. By suggesting that Alberta was "mainly petite bourgeois," Macpherson did not mean that Alberta was either a one-class society or a classless society; rather, he attempted to demonstrate that in the period from the early 1900's up to the mid-forties, Alberta tended to have a "relatively homogeneous class composition."[3]

Although Macpherson did not examine class attitudes toward political issues, he suggested that because the economy of Alberta was fairly homogeneous, economic and social interests were very similar, and therefore only one political party was needed to represent Albertan's class interests. The implication is that if the economy had been more diverse then there may have been more classes, more diverse interests, and more need for other political parties.

There are, however, conflicting views as to the extent of homogeneity of class interests for the period described by Macpherson. W. L. Morton in The Progressive Party in Canada makes some statements which would suggest otherwise. He notes that

> A diversity of interests, comparatively speaking [compared with Saskatchewan], characterized the electorate of Alberta, and the organized farmers could not speak for everyone, as in Saskatchwan.[4]

He further suggests that

> The farmers in the movement represented conflicting interests themselves . . .[5]

Morton pointed out that Alberta, although highly dependent upon agriculture, had more natural resources than Saskatchewan and that coal, oil, and so on, provided for a slightly more diverse economic base. The other suggestion is that farmers may not have been as cohesive as a group as seems to be suggested by Macpherson.

However, since Macpherson categorized farmers as petite bourgeois, he can, if necessary, account for the appearance of conflicting interests among farmers because

> petite bourgeois consciousness of its own position is, in the very nature of the case, less accurate than that of other classes, and that its policies are therefore generally more confused and vascillating.[6]

Essentially, though, Macpherson regards the farmers as a group that is more homogeneous "than the petite bourgeoisie as a whole,"[7] since they

> have been able to organize both politically and economically to promote their immediate interests, and in the course of this organization they have developed a vigorous consciousness of common interests[8] (emphasis added).

Macpherson suggests that although farmers are petite bourgeois and over time have the potential for vascillating political interests, they can behave as a cohesive group during crucial periods because they are engaged in similar economic activities. However, when farmers and small businessmen join forces there is a greater tendency for a confusion of interests. The farmers and small businessmen have very similar goals but are not essentially a cohesive group. This type of behavior is more representative of a petite bourgeois mentality.

Burnet's Next-Year Country deals more specifically with the cleavage between the townspeople (the merchants, professionals, clerical workers and labourers), and the farmers. She found that in the town of Hanna there was an important division between those considered as "townspeople" and the farming community. Burnet's approach differs from Macpherson's in that she is able to draw sharper distinctions between the farmers and townsmen than Macpherson. Burnet's case study demonstrated that although Alberta may have been fairly economically homogeneous, there were social and attitudinal diversities even early in Alberta history.

> Town and country are economically interdependent but socially distinct. In spite of the cash

> economy and the highly specialized mechanized methods of farming of the Hanna wheat farmers, their interests and activities are still unlike those of the town. Wheat farming bears many resemblances to business or industry, but it retains basic differences.[9]

Although this is a case study of one district in Alberta, Burnet's findings are generalizable. One of the most valuable conclusions in Burnet's case study was that although the farmers and the townspeople (businessmen, in particular) joined forces as supporters of the Social Credit party, they did have distinctly different social interests. She notes that the "political alliance of town and country in the Social Credit party"[10] was

> an alliance against an outside enemy--the eastern financier--which might have been expected to complete the betterment of relations which depression forces began. The farmer and the small-town man are not members of the same community. They may unite for expediency at certain junctures, but they remain fundamentally distinct.[11]

Macpherson defines classes only in terms of objective factors such as ownership of the means of production and whether the individual sells his labour. Although Burnet realizes the similarities between the position of the farmer and small businessmen in the system of production, she stresses their attitudinal differences; she suggests that each group, the farmer and the small businessmen, in fact really saw themselves as being in different class positions. Burnet states

> Even in mature communities, of course, farmers often have a sense of grievance. They feel that

> they are producers, whereas the townsmen are parasites.[12]

Morton criticized Macpherson's use of Marxist class categories for a similar reason: Macpherson's class analysis over-emphasizes the reason for the unity of farmers and small businessmen and underestimates the cleavages. Morton states that the *petite bourgeoisie*

> . . . may be a class which does not behave as a class, the members of which do not think of themselves as a class, and strongly dislike the idea of class, but surely only in a Marxian sense. *But if all Professor Macpherson means is that the purpose of the Albertan farmer and small town merchant was to achieve economic independence, to make the farm or the store pay, one must agree with him*[13] (emphasis added).

Burnet found exactly the above: the farmer and the small town merchant may be, according to a Marxist interpretation, objectively placed in the same economic class, but subjectively they have no common ground except the need for each other in their struggles against eastern domination.

A factor which tended to decrease town-country antagonisms was drought and depression during the 1930's. Burnet suggests that this "is indicated by the fact that the occasional revivals of talk of exploitation," where the farmer felt exploited by the townsmen, took "place in good times."[14] For example, in 1939 when farmers were beginning to recover from the depression, bitterness against the towns' businessmen broke out in much the same form as it had throughout 1915 to the late 1920's. The issue which caused a furor in Hanna in 1939 centered around "the provision of rest-room facilites for rural women."[15] Militant letters were sent to the Hanna Herald which charged the sales people with being "vultures" who considered the farmers "easy prey."[16] One letter remarked

> Keep in mind the fact that when a farm family comes to town it is to spend money, hard earned money too.[17]

The sketch of Alberta's early period is not altogether simple. While Macpherson was correct about the extent of economic homogeneity, Burnet, and Morton to some degree, point out the social cleavages between the farmers and the small businessmen. Attitudinal homogeneity was in existence to the extent that farmers and small businessmen had a common goal to accomplish. They both wanted to limit eastern domination and, to do so, had to join forces. Both farmers and small businessmen supported the Social Credit movement, yet, Burnet suggests that the social cleavage still remained between town and country.

The unique aspect of Alberta up to the late 1940's was the large majority of people who could be categorized as independent producers. There were social cleavages, however, their basic interests were related to becoming more economically independent. On this ground, farmers and small businessmen alike had quite similar interests although not necessarily complimentary, and when the time came, they could unite for similar purposes. The question is: what happens when the province becomes more economically diverse, or, when the labour force is not dominated by groups of people who are independent producers but dependent workers? It is suggested that basic economic interests would be quite diverse and that, with the development of a society which is substantially more economically homogeneous, the uniting of forces for a common purpose might not be done quite so easily as it was in 1935.

The second section of this chapter analyzes the years 1931 through to and including 1961 compared to 1971, in order to demonstrate the change in economic diversity. This will be accomplished through an examination of the labour force characteristics.

A Comparison of the Past with 1971

Since the early 1940's, Alberta's labour force has radically changed. Agriculture has always been an important primary industry in Alberta. However, since the 1940's this occupational group as well as the other primary industries have been declining in numbers. Table 1 demonstrates this: from 1911 to 1931, there is a steady increase in farmers and farm workers, fishermen and forestry workers while from 1941 to 1961 there is a decline. For instance, in 1961 farmers and farm workers in particular make up approximately 21 per cent of the total labour force compared to 49 per cent in 1941. Other occupational groups, with the exception of the fishermen, trappers, hunters and miners, quarrymen and related occupations, have doubled and tripled in numbers since 1941. This is portrayed in Table 2.

Table 1

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of the Total Labour Force in Alberta by Industry Sectors, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1966

Industry Sector		1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1966
Forestry, Fishing and Agricultural Industries	No.	82,100	114,874	148,253	145,252	117,601	107,196	100,000
	%	50.8	53.2	51.8	50.5	33.3	21.9	17.8
Service Sector	No.	41,468	65,707	88,346	104,901	167,517	285,388	333,000
	%	25.7	30.4	30.9	36.4	47.4	58.3	59.2
Mining, Manufacturing and Construction Industries	No.	38,043	35,424	49,449	37,678	68.379	96,927	129,000
	%	23.5	16.4	17.3	13.1	19.3	19.8	23.0
Total	No.	161,610	216,005	286,015	287,831	353,497	489,511	562,000
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: R. E. Armit, *Measurement and Analysis of Employment and Income in Alberta: A Starting Point*. Human Resources Research Council, January 29, 1971.

Table 2

Distribution of the Labour Force in Alberta, 1941-1961

	1941	1951	1961
All occupations	287,831	353,497	489,511
Managerial occupations	16,047	28,350	41,691
Professional & technical	16,541	23,874	46,579
Clerical occupations	14,214	30,361	55,317
Sales occupations	10,387	18,496	31,629
Service & recreation	25,547	34,875	59,665
Transport & communication	11,409	19,829	28,261
Farmers & farm workers	141,052	114,926	104,162
Loggers & related workers	938	1,345	2,195
Fishermen, trappers, hunters	3,004	958	814
Miners, quarrymen & related	7,540	7,469	5,291
Craftemen, production process & related workers	30,471	54,177	81,237
Labourers (incl. warehousemen, & freight handlers)	10,273	16,771	21,827
Occupation not stated	408	2,046	11,453

SOURCE: R. E. Armit, Measurement and Analysis of Employment and Income in Alberta: A starting Point. Human Resources Reseach Council, January 29, 1971.

In 1971 Statistics Canada redefined and revised the industrial classification, therefore the figures for 1971 "are not directly comparable to the industry statistics of earlier censuses";[18] however, some rough estimates can be determined. According to the 1971 data, the labour force in all occupations and industries in Alberta totalled 688,285,[19] an increase of 198,774 since 1961. It can be estimated that the number of people involved in agricultural production has decreased again since 1961. Census Canada reports that 89,312[20] people were involved in agriculture in 1971 whereas in 1961 there were 104,162 farmers and farm workers. This suggests that only 13 per cent of the labour force was involved in agricultural production in 1971 compared to 18 per cent in 1961.

In 1971 the labour force increased overall, however the number of people involved in agricultural production has decreased. Therefore, it can be assumed that other occupational groups in the labour force are expanding. Essentially, the labour force is much more diverse than it was in 1941.

Although the number of people involved in agricultural production is less in 1971 than in 1941, there has been an increase in the total area of farmland in the province. The total area in farms has increased by 6,228,992 acres since 1941, and the average size of farms has increased from 434 acres in 1941 to 790 acres in 1971.[21]

Table 3 demonstrates that the number of farms which

Table 3

Farm Size in Alberta in 1941 and 1971

(Number of Occupied Farms)

1941 Acreage	1941 Number of Farms	1971* Acreage	1971* Number of Farms
1-200	42,342	Under 3-239	14,034
201-479	30,398	240,399	12,606
480-639	10,303	400-559	9,128
640-799	6,417	560-759	8,196
800-1,119	5,201	760-1,119	8,478
1,120-1,280 and over	5,071	1,120-1,600 and over	10,260
Total	99,732		62,702

*The figures were combined in order to be comparable to the 1941 figures.

SOURCE: C. B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta (University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 17; Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Canada Year Book, 1973, "Agriculture," Table 11.30, Catalogue CS-202 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

are considered to be large has increased substantially since 1941, particularly those which are 800 acres and over. There has been a comparable substantial decrease in the number of small farms, especially 400 acres and under. It is suggested that class differences may be found between farmers with large acreages and those with smaller acreages since having a larger acreage means that the farmer will enjoy a better standard of living (depending upon the type of farming done). For instance, in a small farming community in Southern Alberta, it was often the case that one heard people refer to others as the "rich farmers," the "poor dirt-farmers," and those who earn a decent standard of living but are neither rich nor poor. James West, an American anthropologist, studied a farming community which he called "Plainsville, U.S.A." and found essentially the same thing; farmers were differentiated on the basis of ownership of land, where they farmed, farming practices, and so on.[22]

The decrease in the number of farmers and farm workers and the increase in the number of acres of total cultivated farm land has, according to Leo Johnson, other important implications for the determination of the class position of the farmer. Since the earlier decades of the century there has been a rapid increase in farm capitalization. The decline in the number of farm units "has accelerated as competition and rapid expansion of capital investment in agriculture" has "forced the weak or undercapitalized farm out of business."[23] Economists and government officials felt that "higher capitalization and larger farms would lead to increased productivity and a higher standard of living for farmers."[24] Farm productivity has increased enormously, but the income of the farmers have, on the average, increased by a very small percentage. Johnson describes the farmers that have been forced off the land as "an under-class of dispossessed farmers" since they are "either incapable of making the transition to urban living, or who, because of their lack of skills, are incapable of being absorbed in the urban economy."[25] The farmers who have kept their land are not in a much better class position since they too have "undergone a process of relative impoverishment" and have therefore, experienced a "severe erosion of status."[26] Johnson suggests that

> As their income from farming falls farther and farther below average, farmers are forced to turn more and more to wage labour in an attempt to maintain their standard of living. Of course . . . the lower income farmers are subjected to this process to a greater degree than those with higher incomes; however, both income groups are clearly undergoing the same process.[27]

Overall, the farmers in Alberta, in relation to other sectors of the society, have become a relatively weaker social and political force. This is suggested for two reasons: (1) the number of farmers and farm workers is steadily decreasing (see Tables 1 and 2); and (2) the urban population is increasing rapidly.

The urban population, up until 1951, was considerably less than half of the total population of Alberta. An increase in urban population began to take place between the years 1941 and 1951, and in 1961, the urban population accounted for 63.3 per cent of the total population. In 1971, almost three-quarters of Alberta's population were considered urban and only 26.5 per cent were rural. Between 1941 and 1961, Alberta's urbanization jumped 31.4 percentage points contrasted with only two and one-half between the years 1911 to 1931. From 1961 to 1971, there was another 10.2 per cent increase in urban population (see Table 4).

> This unusually rapid advance in the recent decades may partly reflect the regions unusually short history of significant settlement, yet the historical pattern suggests strongly the influence of factors that extend beyond the mere 'youth' of this region. The highly profitable expansion of oil and natural gas production since the middle 1940s is probably an important cause of the recent upsurge in Prairie urbanization. This expansion has accelerated Prairie industrialization and has probably been a most important multiplier of employment opportunities in Prairie cities.[26]

In the period after the 1940's, Alberta experienced some significant changes which may be reflected in the class structure of the province. The population is no longer as homogeneous with respect to the number of people involved in agricultural production since farmers and farm labourers make up less than 15 per cent of the labour force.[27] It is also the case that the farmer is much less influential in the political realm; the number of independent producers have declined and since dependent workers are becoming numerically

Table 4

Per Cent of Population Urban* in Alberta, 1911-1971

Year	Percentage of Urban Population
1911	29.4
1921	30.7
1931	31.8
1941	31.9
1951	47.6
1961	63.3
1971	73.5
Total population of Alberta, 1971	1,463,203
Total urban population, 1971	1,007,407
Total rural population, 1971	178,198

*Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Part 1. Population, Geographical Distributions. Bulletin 1.1, Catalogue 92-709. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

more dominant perhaps they are also gaining more dominance in politics. People involved in clerical occupations, service and recreation, transport and communication, and craftsmen, production process and related workers are all examples of dependent producers or, those people who work for others. Table 1 reveals that their numbers are quickly increasing.

A significant question is whether these dependent workers have any political interests in common with the independent producers or, is a spread of interests developing within the province and are these interests (political in particular), based essentially on class differences? An attempt will be made to deal with these questions in Chapter V.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] Some of the literature includes: C. B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: The Theory and Practice of a Quasi-Party System. 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Jean Burnet, Next Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951); W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); W. L. Morton, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," in Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970).

[2] Macpherson, op. cit., p. 246.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, p. 36.

[5] Ibid., p. 289.

[6] Macpherson, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

[7] Ibid., p. 227.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Burnet, op. cit., p. 95.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., p. 78.

[13] Macpherson, op cit., p. 229.

[14] Burnet, op. cit., p. 86.

[15] Ibid., p. 87.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Part 3. Economic Characteristics, Occupations. Bulletin 3.3-9, Catalogue 94-736. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971.

[19] Ibid.

[20] See Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. IV, Part 3. *Agriculture, Prairies and British Columbia*. Bulletin 4.3-3, Catalogue 96-710. Ottaw: Queen's Printer, 1971; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1971 Census of Canada, *Advance Series*. Catalogue 96-728. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971.

[21] Ibid.

[22] See James West, *Plainsville, U.S.A.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); John F. Cuber, ed., *Social Stratification in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), Part II:4.

[23] Leo Johnson, "The Development of Class in Canada in the Twentieth Century," in *Capitalism and the National Question*, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 148.

[24] Ibid., p. 149

[25] Ibid., p. 150.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Leroy O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada: 1961 Census Monograph* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 38.

CHAPTER III

SOME ANALYTICAL DETAILS

This chapter will discuss some of the analytical details which had to be resolved before embarking on an analysis of class in Alberta. The method of analysis, the reason for its choice and some of the problems encountered when using this method will be clarified.

SCHEMES FOR DETERMINING SOCIAL CLASS

The division of society into either classes or strata is a prominent feature of most societies;[1] however, the methods used to determine the class composition of societies are quite diverse. The manner in which a researcher chooses to identify classes in a society is an expression of his particular interests and beliefs about reality.[2]

An important first-step is to decide which particular scheme for determining social class is the most appropriate and valuable for the intended study. According to Stanislow Ossowski, there are basically three approaches: the dichotomous view; the view of society as a scheme of gradation; and the division of society in terms of a functional scheme.[3]

Two of the approaches can be differentiated further. The dichotomic view, for instance, can either

> . . . underline the antagonistic relations existing in the society, relations where one is

> 'on top' and the other 'at the bottom,' where one exploits the other, where one rules and the other obeys, without however assuming that those who are above and those who are below are two vast classes, opposed to each other as wholes.[4]

or,

> . . . the whole society may be visualized as a collectivity with a structure containing two strata.[5]

The scheme of gradation takes at least two other forms as well: simple gradation and synthetic gradation.[6] Generally, "it is a scheme of multiple divisions"[7] and from this view

> . . . society is perceived in the form of a stratified system of three or more classes, of which each is higher or lower than others in the same respect. Here too each class is defined in terms of its relation to other classes, but the relation is conceived not as a relation of dependence but merely as an ordering relation.[8]

When a scheme of simple gradation is used, economic criteria are the only type that can be applied whereas a synthetic scheme of gradation takes into account several factors such as income, education and occupation.[9] The reason for referring to a scheme of gradation as synthetic is that the objective criteria used are not "commensurable."[10] That is, often in social life, two or more objective criteria may act together to offset or compensate for one another. For instance

> . . . origin is compensated for by higher income or . . . a lower economic status is offset by high occupational status or better education.[11]

In order to establish a scheme of gradation, the researcher has intuitively to evaluate individuals who may have. for instance. a low level of education but a high income. Ossowski suggests that the only manner in which a scheme of synthetic gradation can be developed is by intuitive comparison and an intuitive summation of values since a comparison is "incomparable in terms of any other common measure."[12]

The objective method used to determine social class in this thesis most closely approximates the synthetic scheme of gradation in which three main variables were used to determine class position: occupation, income and education. This, however, is not the only method which can or has been used to analyze class in Alberta. Macpherson dealt with class but he employed a scheme which is essentially dichotomic.

Macpherson's class analysis is dichotomic in the sense that he portrays two major classes: the petite bourgeoisie in Alberta and the bourgeoisie or the controllers of capital in central Canada. The petite bourgeoisie is seen as being exploited by the bourgeoisie and relations between these two groups are antagonistic. Within the province, Macpherson did not find a great variation in class position; rather, he described provincial class with reference to the national society. His major point was that Alberta occupied a unique position in Canada [illegible] a whole; since the province was extremely subservient to central Canada, class antagonism existed to a greater degree between Albertans and central

Canada than within the province.

It is possible that Alberta has changed enough structurally to warrant the use of a different method of analysis for an emerging historical period. The suggestion is that

> Interpretations of class structure are social facts, which constitute a response to the emergence or persistence of certain types of human relationships. Thus the typology of the modes of interpreting such structures may be correlated with the typology of the actual structures.[13]

During its earlier historical period, 1905-1946, Alberta was not particularly class divided and Macpherson's method was valuable for emphasizing the economic and attitudinal homogeneity of the province at that time. From the late 1940's on, the emphasis is on a changing social structure in Alberta; one which is economically and attitudinally heterogeneous. A scheme of gradation seems more appropriate to the more modern social structure of Alberta since it tends to stress diversity in terms of class, i.e., by calling for three or more classes. It is, therefore, quite conceivable that at different points in time, a society will have changed to such an extent that a scheme which was formerly applicable would distort or not fully describe the society in a different time period. At present, Alberta does not seem to be a bifurcated society, therefore a dichotomic scheme would most likely not be able to account for the recent tendency toward greater social and economic diversity. In any case, as an initial approach to a study of Alberta's class structure of 1971, the use of a scheme of gradation will provide some basic information upon which further research can be conducted.

Subjective Class: Class Consciousness and False Consciousness

This analysis takes into consideration not only objective factors for determining class position, but also subjective class identification. Subjective class identification indicates to the researcher to what extent class is important to the people in the society under study. In essence, to ask individuals subjectively to identify with a class, indicates the extent to which they are class conscious or aware of their places within the social structure.

Researchers often define the class structure of societies only in objective terms such as wealth, power, occupation, education and so on, however, subjective opinions about social class standing are important. Runciman suggests that although

> . . . people may be wrong about 'subjective' status in the sense that their own prestige is not what they think it is . . . the status-structure of their society is in fact determined solely by the the feelings of its members.[14]

Therefore, some consideration of how people subjectively identify with class, whether their identification is correct or incorrect, indicates a great deal about the reality of the society. If the researcher does not consider the "feelings" of the individuals in the society, he may present an unrealistic account of that society and stress dichotomies which are unimportant.

The concept of "class consciousness" is not easily dealt with. For instance, a person may identify with a class, but it may be difficult to determine whether that person actually feels strongly affiliated with that class. Marx introduced the concepts Klasse an sich and Klasse für sich[15] in order to distinguish between people who just identify with a class and those who identify with a class because they feel strongly affiliated with that class. Essentially

> An aggregate of people which satisfies the economic criteria of a social class becomes a class in the full meaning of this term when its members are linked by the tie of class consciousness, by the consciousness of common interests, and by the psychological bond that arises out of common antagonism.[16]

Marx sometimes used the term 'stratum' "to denote a class which is not a class in the fullest sense because it lacks psychological bonds."[17]

In this research report, class consciousness will refer to something less that what Marx may have conceived of as class consciousness.[18] Class consciousness will simply mean that people have identified with a class which closely corresponds to the socio-economic objective class position in which we have placed them. We were unable to examine the extent to which individuals feel affilated to the class with which they subjectively identified, therefore, for the purposes of this examination, they do not need to have a strong sense of class consciousness.

As well as being class conscious, individuals can be described as being "false conscious." In this case, individuals subjectively misperceive their class position. Discovering that many people in the society do have a false consciousness of class position is an important finding. C. W. Mills suggests that

> The economic and social facts are one thing. Psychological feelings may or may not be associated with them in rationally expected ways. Both are important, and if psychological feelings and political outlooks do not correspond to economic or occupational class, we must try to find out why, rather than throw out the economic baby with the psychological bath, and so fail to understand how either fits into the national tub.[19]

The next section of this chapter deals specifically with some of the factors which may contribute to a lack of class awareness and hence to false consciousness in Alberta. It is essential to be aware of these factors before attempting to analyze classes and their political attitudinal structures because the extent of class consciousness or false consciousness can have far-reaching affects.

Some Contributing Factors Leading to a Lack of Class Identity in Alberta

Some factors which have contributed to a lack of class awareness and thus class antagonism in Alberta in the past, as well as in 1971, will be discussed in this section.

These can be stated briefly as the east-west dichotomy, the influence of the party system in Alberta, and the myths of "middle level classlessnes" or classlessness.

The east-west dichotomy. Both Macpherson and Burnet referred to Albertans in the 1930's and 1940's as forming an alliance in order to fight against a common outside enemy--the eastern financier. Macpherson suggests that the focus on the problem of being controlled by outside capital tended to reduce the urgency of class interests within the province. A concept which refers to Eastern domination of the West is western alienation and the concept covers a number of grievances such as freight rates,[20] tariffs,[21] national economic policies,[22] and political alienation.[23]

Western alienation is by no means a new problem: there has been an accumulation of resentment over time toward the manner in which the West and western problems have been dealt with in comparison to the concessions which were made to Ontario and Quebec. W. L. Morton suggests that political alienation, for instance, started as early as 1897 with the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement.[24] The period from 1890 to 1911 "was a period of great economic progress"[25] and Morton further comments that

> At the same time the peculiar circumstances of the West as a frontier area economically and politically subordinate to central Canada and the unequal incidence of national policies on that region, were giving rise to a sharpened sectional temper.[26]

A great deal of conflict was reflected in the farmers' movement which spread across the prairie provinces by the early 1900's. In 1909 the United Farmers of Alberta was organized and in the next several years

> In the three provinces of the continental West, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, the wishes of the farmers by their delegations to government, soon became political imperatives.[27]

In 1935, the UFA was defeated by the Social Credit party[28] and this defeat marked the establishment of a political party that represented not only the farmers' interests, but the interests of the majority of Alberta's population. Both town and country joined together to fight oppression of the West by Eastern Canada.[29] After the defeat of the UFA, the farmer's movements weakened and grievances from other sectors of society tended to become just as important, if not more so. Some of the grievances of the farmers and other sectors in later years are summed up by John Barr in the following passage.

> Many Westerners in all four provinces feel that their legitimate economic needs and aspirations are not being looked after by the federal authorities. Wheat is only one chapter in this story. Others include the failure of the federal government to bring about a deeper penetration of the U.S. market for Western oil and natural gas. Another chapter is the use by the federal government of fiscal devices, such as the change in capital cost allowances for construction of office buildings which had an uneven effect across the country and have worked their greatest hardship on Western cities such as Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary.[30]

The issue of domination by the East over the West does not seem to have lessened; rather it has taken on new dimensions whereby all sectors of Alberta society have become aware of how far-reaching the consequences of the domination are. As late as 1969 at the Constitutional Conference, the Hon. Mr. Strom, then premier of Alberta, warned

> . . . that it would be a tragic and profound mistake on the part of either the politicians, or the press, or the general public of central Canada to underestimate or dismiss out of hand the profound dissatisfaction which does exist among many people in western Canada. There is a real lack of understanding and appreciation of our regional interests and problems and aspirations in other parts of the country. We deeply resent the picture which is often painted of the West in the minds of the people of central Canada.[31]

The intention of this discussion was to demonstrate that a great deal of attention and animosity has been, historically and to the present, directed outside of Alberta: toward central Canada in general and toward Ottawa in particular. Many of the problems of the West, economic and political, can be blamed on outside forces. Macpherson suggests that in its early period, and because of its peculiar nature of social and economic organization ("quasi-colonial"),[32] Alberta's

> . . . conflict of class interests [was] not so much within the society as between that society and the forces of outside capital . . .[33]

Because a large proportion of the people in Alberta were farmers and also, because industry had not been developed to any great extent, the province has in the past and, still is, dependent upon Eastern Canada for manufactured products.

As well, Alberta has been dependent upon Ottawa for policies which will benefit the province economically and socially. Since Alberta has been so vulnerable, because of its great dependence upon "outsiders," the immediate response is to place blame entirely upon the outside forces. Therefore, the antagonistic forces within the province are not given a great deal of attention. The result of having the conflict of class interests directed toward the outside means that the conflict of class interests within the province can be kept at a minimal level.[34]

It should be noted that this is not to say that the struggle between the West and the East is unfounded; rather the essence of this argument is that the struggle between the West and the East has taken on so much importance in the minds of the people that class antagonisms within the province are dampened.[35]

Questions related to western alienation will be examined in Chapter V of the thesis in order to determine whether Albertans still place a great deal of emphasis on Eastern domination.

The influence of the party system. A second factor that may contribute to the lack of class identification in Alberta is the types of ideologies that the ruling political parties in Alberta have maintained. Although Alberta has had a history of political parties which have been radically different from the major political parties in Canada, Macpherson feels that they have had basically the same effect as other political parties in Canada which is to stifle class interests.

Macpherson states that Canada is a democratic state and that all of the political parties follow democratic principles. However, he suggests that democracy, when used to describe the Canadian system of government, no longer means what was originally intended by the term. In its original form, democratic government meant that all groups or classes of people would be represented by a person from their own group or class since all factions of a society have different interests. In Canada, including Alberta, there are different political parties but these political parties do not represent substantially different class interests. Instead

> The primary problem of democratic government is taken to be the representation and reconciliation of a multitude of diverse and conflicting group interests--regional, occupational, racial, religious, ethical--which cut across and blur class lines. In this view the machinery of government is, in itself, neutral; it has no inherent class content, but operates in response to the pressures of all the groups.[36]

Macpherson argues that the party system in Alberta, which he has referred to as a quasi-party system,[37]

> can to a limited degree express and moderate the conflict of class interests in which the society is involved.[38]

Macpherson explains that the "twentieth-century rationale of the party system, has been built on the pluralistic view of democratic society."[39] That is, the society is made up a "diverse series of minorities, a majority capable of supporting an effective government."[40] The party system has a brokerage function which is used "to sift and bring together into two or a few combinations the multitude of divergent group demands and equate them to the available supply of political goods, giving due weight to each without destroying any."[41]

This is possible only in a society where class division is not strong--which may mean either a society in which class division is not recognized by the people or a society which does not have extremely diversified classes so "as to prevent any class from accepting the verdict of the polls."[42] Macpherson notes that this emphasizes the "fundamental oneness of the whole people."[43]

Basically, Macpherson suggests that for a party system to survive, the brokerage function as well as the function of moderating the conflict of class interests must be performed. He states

> If we bring back into serious consideration the problem of class tension in a democracy, as we are compelled to do by the fact of its reassertion by radical movements in our day, it appears that the function of the party sustem is maintaining democracy is not only to weigh and adjust a multitude of sectional and group interests and to provide against a permanent oligarchy, but also to moderate the conflict of class interests.[44]

The method of containing class conflict in Alberta took the form of delusion.[45] Macpherson notes

> Whether it is thought that this was delusion of the people by the party leaders, or whether it is thought to have extended to self-delusion of the leaders is irrelevant here . . . the quasi-party system, to the extent that it cannot moderate class tension while expressing it, contains it by concealing it.[46]

Studies of the Social Credit, and even the UFA, social and political theory and their activities, indicate how class tension was controlled, in theory and in practice.[47] Since the Social Credit party was in power in Alberta for such a long period of time, it is possible that a large proportion of the Alberta population is still recovering from its influences.

The influence of the UFA and, in particular, the Social Credit cannot be tested directly in this thesis; however, the party system as described in this section certainly has the potential for being influential with respect to any lack of class identification which may be found in this study.

The myths of middle level classlessness and classlessness. Of Canadian society, Porter states that there are two predominant images of class: in rural settings, people often feel that they live in a "classless" society;[48] and, in urban settings, people in general often describe themselves as middle class. He states that the reason for the image of classlessness among rural people stems from the feelings of "equality among pioneers in the frontier environment of the last century."[49] Porter suggests that

> A rural, agricultural, primary producing society is a much less differentiated society than one which has highly concentrated industries in large cities. Equality in the rural society may be much more apparent than real, but the rural environment has been for Canada an important source of the image of equality.[50]

Since Alberta has become urbanized only within the past forty years, it is quite likely that the rural belief in classlessness will still have some effect on the extent to which people will openly admit class differences.

The middle class image in the urban setting includes the notion that everyone has certain possessions such as

> . . . a separate dwelling with an array of electrical equipment, a car, and perhaps a summer cottage. Family members, together or as individuals, engage in a certain amount of ritualistic behavior in churches and service clubs.[51]

With the advent of greater accessibility to the media, the rural and urban images of society have become meshed into what Porter describes as "middle level classlessness."[52] This is the belief that there are not people who are either rich or very poor and that "there are no barriers to opportunity."[53] There is no certain evidence to suggest however, the extent to which this is the case in Alberta in 1971.

Alberta is in a unique situation at this point in history because, although the province is more urban than rural, a large percentage of the population is from farm backgrounds. Overall, it is highly likely that the rural belief of equality is still the most important factor.

The foregoing provides strong evidence to suggest that many Albertans may not be particularly conscious of their class positions. Our method of analysis, however, was formulated in order to cope with problems of this type. This method will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Objective Class: A Discussion of the Three Major Determinants

The previous sections dealt with some of the problems that can be encountered with subjective class analysis. In many respects, objective class position is not easily determined either. In the following some of the advantages and disadvantages of using a scheme of gradation to determine objective class will be discussed.

In this study objective class position is defined by three major variables: income, occupation and education. They were employed because they are so closely linked; one of the variables can be influenced by, or influence the others. Several examples of this can be cited, the first of which will be the relationship between occupation and income. C. W. Mills defines occupation as "a set of activities pursued more of less regularly as a major source of income"[54] where income is a product of the type of occupation. He further explains that "[as] sources of income, occupations are thus connected with class position"[55] since

> "Class situation" in its simplest, objective sense has to do with the amount and source of income. A class is a set of people who share

> similar life chances because of their similar life situations.[56]

Income is an important product of occupation since it does determine life chances; income can be used to buy property, i.e., houses, cars, land, etc., and the accumulation of these items may in turn help to advance a person's class position. In the Bilingualism and Biculturalism report for Canada, the authors noted that income is important in another manner. They suggest that

> Few indeed are those to whom money is a matter of indifference. It follows that, if there is a substantial disparity between incomes of two groups, the less fortunate will generally have strong resentment and grievance.[57]

In contemporary society, income in terms of wages has assumed more importance in the determination of class position than during any other period. Income accrued from the ownership of property was once the major determining variable for class position. Mills suggests that the change is due to the fact that

> Today, occupation rather than property is the source of income for most of those who receive any direct income: the possibilities of selling their services in the labor market, rather than profitably buying and selling their property and its yields, now determine the class chances of over four-fifths of the American people.[58]

The ownership of property, though, cannot be disregarded; rather this variable should be seen in perspective. There are some 'old' upper class families which have maintained their class position mainly through the ownership of property as a major source of income. There are also those who may be termed as 'new' upper class families, or neuveau riche, because fairly recently they were able to accrue large incomes and with the surplus from their incomes were able to buy property which further advanced their class positions. An upper class position is more prestigious if the source of money is property, but an upper class position is not totally dependent upon the ownership of property for money.[59] For the greatest proportion of the population, income in payment for the type of work performed is the most important determinant of class position.

The level of education which a person has attained can also be a decisive factor. Mills notes that the modern "society of employees has made occupation and education crucially important."[60] The suggestion is that a better education will allow a person to choose a more prestigious occupation which will in turn give the person a chance to earn a greater income. There are some examples, though, of where this is not necessarily the case, for instance, with plumbers and teachers. Plumbers need only have technical school training while teachers now require a university education; however, plumbers often earn far greater incomes than teachers. Although the occupation is not usually considered as being as prestigious as teaching, the plumber has a greater ability to use any excess income to buy property, for example, and perhaps raise his class position, whereas the teacher may not have this ability.

When a scheme of gradation is used to identify classes, it is important to remember that occupation, income and educational levels are not necessarily specific to any one class; in order to define class lines, the researcher must be prepared to do a certain amount of juggling. This can be exemplified through a discussion of some of the problems which Blishen encountered when he constructed an occupational class scale for Canada.

In order to construct a scale, Blishen arranged "the occupations reported in the 1951 census according to income and schooling"[61] and then computed and combined the two standard scores.[62] The results were that 343 occupations were divided into seven classes. Blishen found that

> . . . the main difficulties encountered in the construction of an occupational scale is that respondents when ranking occupations are unaware of the numerous dimensions which should be taken into account and they rank them according to a single general criterion such as social standing.[63]

Among social scientists Blishen found that, on the whole, there is general agreement about the "ranking of occupations which is carried over into the ranking of . . . characteristics"[64] such as income, education, prestige, skill and so on.

Other limitations with regard to using an occupational scale were also found. For instance, occupational categories can sometimes be so broad "that they include a large number of people of widely varying class positions."[65] The farming occupation is a prime example of this; if farming is considered to be a lower class occupation and all farmers are placed in a single class, this does not accurately reflect the real situation where there are various gradations in income, education, amount of land owned, and so on, among the farmers. Farmers, depending upon how they rank according to these additional factors, do have different styles of life and it is therefore not altogether reasonable to place all of them in the same class. Blishen notes that this difficulty "might be overcome by specifying occupations more precisely, but a scale constructed in this manner would include so many unfamiliar occupations that it would be useless in operation."[66]

A very important problem is related to the extent to which data referring to a particular year can be generalizable for other historical periods. Ideas change about the status of particular occupations; for instance, technological advancements are made and occupations which may not have existed in the past, can become extremely important in the contemporary society. The investigator has to be aware of these kinds of issues when ranking people according to their occupations.

An example of the above is that in earlier studies a distinction was made between manual and non-manual workers. It was the case then, and still is with some manual occupations, that these workers were manual labourers because they had less education and, as a result earned low incomes. Another argument for the different treatment of manual and non-manual workers was that

> . . . the non-manual workers income [could] be expected to rise steadily with the length of service and experience, whereas a manual worker [could] well reach his maximum earning power in his 20's.[67]

This particular distinction needs some re-evaluation in more modern contexts particularly since the manual worker has been influenced by technological changes. It is no longer necessarily true that all manual workers have poor educations, nor is it true that they all earn low incomes.[68] Also, the manual worker, depending upon the job, has a much longer period for reaching his maximum earning power since he is now equipped with new mechanical devices which help to make his task easier. Also, these new innovations require that he have some training in order to know how to make use of them. The more important distinction now is between skilled and unskilled workers; skilled workers are far more likely to obtain better paying jobs.

This section has tried to demonstrate that in order to use income, occupation and education to determine class, the reseacher has to be aware of the relative importance of these variables in the society which he has chosen to study as well as some of the difficulties that may be encountered in the application of these variables to a class analysis.

Provisional Opperating Definitions for Objective Class Position

Three major classes will be dealt with in this analysis: an upper class, a middle class and a lower class. Although there will be some variations, provisional operating definitions of each class can be outlined here.

The definitions are as follows: by upper class is meant those people with a relatively high socio-economic status, i.e., people with high incomes, from 12,000 to 15,000 dollars or more per year, who have grade 12 or 13 or more education, and who are predominantly professionals or managers; by middle class is meant those people of mid-level incomes, from 9,000 to 12,000 dollars per year, who have some high school, vocational or other training, and who are mainly white-collar workers or skilled blue collar workers or tradesmen; and, by lower class is meant those people of low socio-economic status, i.e., people who earn low incomes, less than 7,000 dollars per year, who have predominantly ninth grade or less education, and are employed predominantly as semi-skilled or unskilled blue-collar workers or farmers.[69] It should be noted that if a subject is found to have identified with a class which is different from that to which he belongs by definition, then that respondent will be designated as an inaccurate perceiver of class position.

The next chapter deals specifically with the method that was employed to determine these class categories.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] See T. B. Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1965), p. 11.

[2] See Stanislow Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 177.

[3] According to the functional scheme, society is divided into a number of classes which differ in accordance with the functions that they fulfill in social life. See Ossowski, op. cit., pp. 30, 41, 56.

[4] Ibid., p. 30

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., pp. 47, 50.

[10] Ibid., p. 54.

[11] Ibid., p. 55

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 172.

[14] W. G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 43.

[15] Klasse an sich can be interpreted as "class in itself," which denotes a class of individuals who are not linked by psychological bonds. Klasse für sich can be interpreted as "class for itself." This phrase denotes a class of individuals who are linked by psychological bonds.

[16] Ossowski, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[17] Ibid., p. 73.

[18] Richard Centers also describes class consciousness in a less strict manner than Marx in The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 21, 25. Centers states, "As to the subjective or psychological aspect of class, the essential ideas are embodied in a rather loose and general phrase, class consciousness, which seems to mean not only consciousness of kind or consciousness of membership in and feeling of solidarity with a group called a class, but the possession of common interests or orientation, which the Marxists call an ideology" [Emphasis added]. Centers adds, "It is certain that the economic position, wealth, or poverty of a man exerts an enormous influence on his body and soul, his behavior and psychology, and his relationships and destinies. The same may be said of a man's occupation. It also applies in regard to his allegiance to a priveledged or to a disinherited social position."

[19] C. W. Mills, "The Sociology of Stratification," in Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills, ed. I. Lewis Horowitz (London/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 317.

[20] The grievance is briefly that "discriminatory freight rates have restricted the level of economic development in Western Canada." For this quotation and a more extensive discussion of this issue see Martin Westmecott, "Western Canada and the National Transportation Act: A Case Study in Co-operative Federalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972), p. 57.

[21] See Westmecott, Ibid. The grievance is that the "Tariff policy of the federal government has protected the manufacturing interests of Eastern Canada at the expense of the agricultural and resource industries of Western Canada."

[22] Ibid., p. 53. Westmecott states that the Western provinces have felt that economic policies always seem to benefit Eastern Canada. The reason for suggesting that this is the case is that there seems to have been an "unequal incidence of national economic policies on Western Canada."

[23] Political alienation can be defined as the feeling of distance from the government and its activities.

[24] W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 8.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] The U.F.A. was in power from 1921 until 1935.

[29] See Burnett, Next-Year Country (University of Toronto Press, 1951).

[30] J. J. Barr, "Beyond Bitterness," in The Unfinished Revolt, ed. J. J. Barr and Owen Anderson (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 14.

[31] Hon. H. E. Strom, Opening Statement to the Constitutional Conference February 1969, Proceedings (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969).

[32] Quasi-colonial status is defined as a partially dependent economic position. For more information see C. B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 5-10.

[33] Ibid., p. 246.

[34] Here, I am speaking primarily of openly expressed class interests, or, class consciousness, as it is often referred to by Marxist scholars. This means, basically, identifying with a particular class and espousing the interests of that class in opposition to another class.

[35] See Ronald MacDonald, "Monopoly Capitalism and Prairie Agriculture in Canada: A Study in Political Economy" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1974). In this thesis, MacDonald discusses the various types of antagonisms which are based in the West. He also discusses the importance of the East-West dichotomy.

[36] Macpherson, op. cit., p. 240.

[37] The term "quasi-party system" is used to refer to a party system which is not really a one-party system not a two-party system. A quasi-party system denotes a party system in a fairly homogeneous society, for example, a society which is dominated by people who are involved in one main economic activity such as farming. Several parties may enter into race for political power, however, since the political interests of the people are not extremely diverse, one party usually gains a large majority of the seats, with a very small opposition. In essence, one party has a great deal of power and the opposition is virtually powerless.

[38] Macpherson, op. cit., p. 246.

[39] Ibid., p. 242.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid

[42] Ibid., p. 243.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Macpherson's purpose is to show that Alberta's party system is not in fact totally democratic. It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss this; instead, the purpose is to show that there are classes in Alberta but that the particular party in power has been able to conceal this.

[46] Macpherson, op. cit., p. 247.

[47] See Macpherson's discussion of the U.F.A. and Social Credit and reviews of some of the major principles espoused by each of the parties. An example of the U.F.A.'s controlling of class contention is expressed by William Irvine, The Farmers in Politics (Toronto: 1920), quoted in C. B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 38.

> . . . the "new system must recognize the many existing classes and provide self-determination for each. A government on the basis of no class would be as false as a government on the basis of two classes. All classes must be recognized."

Although Irvine is suggesting that there are a number of classes which each have different interests, his solution for recognizing all classes is in essence very similar to the manner in which other party systems control class tensions, basically by trying to represent the interests of all classes at the same time.

Social Credit theory seems to denote a much different approach to the problem. In Social Credit theory, individualism is espoused in a very outright fashion. Macpherson notes in Democracy in Alberta (p. 234) that their definition of democracy is "the freedom of individuals, separately, not collectively, to take or leave what is offered to them." Since classes are collectives, at least at their more advanced stages of development, the Social Credit theory seems to be suggesting that class activity or collective activity would be impinging upon individual freedom, and ultimately that collective action would not be democratic.

[48] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 3-4.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] C. W. Mills, op. cit., p. 306.

[55] Ibid., p. 307.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Report. Book III, Part 1. "Income" (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), pp. 16-17.

[58] C. W. Mills, op. cit., p. 307.

[59] See C. W. Mills, ibid., p. 312. Here he states that, "Upper class position typically carries great prestige, all the more so if the source of money is property."

[60] Ibid.

[61] Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXIV, 4 (November, 1958), p. 522.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., pp. 520-521.

[64] Ibid., p. 521.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Runciman, op. cit., p. 47.

[68] Ibid., pp. 45-46. Runciman notes that the manual/non-manual distinction can "be attacked from either of two opposite viewpoints. On one view, deriving from Marx, the dichotomy is not between manual and non-manual workers but

between the capitalists and the propertyless; on the opposite view, deriving from the alleged embougeoisement of the working class, the line is, if anywhere, between skilled and unskilled, since many manual workers have become so prosperous as not to be ranked as proletarians but rather as members of a newly emergent 'middle class'." He adds that, "These two critisms can be supported e.g., many manual workers now earn as much or more than many white collar workers and, some manual and some non-manual workers even if they should still be assigned to different social strata, nevertheless belong to the same economic class . . ."

[69] Unfortunately, we do not have data which refers to the "skill" level of the workers, however, it seems reasonable to assume that if there are many blue collar workers in the middle class then they are probably skilled workers. The blue collar workers in the lower class will probably be semi-skilled or unskilled since they earn a great deal less income.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The first hypothesis stated that because Alberta is more economically heterogeneous in terms of the labour force in 1971 than it was in 1941, it is likely that there is more diversity in terms of social classes. The first part of the hypothesis was examined in sections I and II of Chapter II; the second part of the hypothesis will be investigated in this chapter with reference to the questions: (i) do Albertans seem to be aware of their class positions and, (ii) are the classes fairly diverse and distinct from one another? We intend to look first at the method and then at the socio-economic and demographic composition of the resulting classes.

Determining Subjective and Objective Class Position

This analysis of class was constructed using questions drawn from a major electoral survey of Alberta (N=906) which was completed in 1971.[1] The principle investigator was Dr. R. Baird from the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. The survey was conducted just after the 1971 provincial election in which the Progressive Conservatives defeated the Social Credit party which had been in power for nearly thirty-six years. The survey was not intended to investigate class in Alberta, rather it was developed to examine voting behavior. However, enough questions about class were incorporated into the questionnaire for this analysis to be possible.

In the questionnaire designed by Dr. Baird, et al., and attempt was made to discover the extent to which individuals in the sample thought in terms of class by posing the question; Do you belong to a class? The response was low: 459 of the 857 respondents stated that they did not belong to a class. A second question; What class do you identify with? was asked to determine whether the respondents would be more likely to identify with a particular class. This was not the case since 465 individuals, a slightly greater number than before, stated that they did not identify with a class.

Some negative responses toward class-oriented questions were anticipated therefore probing questions were incorporated into the questionnaire. The probe questions were designed specifically for the 513 individuals who would not respond to the question which asked if they would identify with a particular class. The probes were: "What level of the middle class would you identify with?" and "What level of the working class would you identify with?"[2]

These results were found to be somewhat more promising. When asked what level of the middle class they would identify with, 311 of the respondents stated that they were 'mid-middle class,' 88 identified as 'upper middle' and, 17 people appeared in the category 'inapplicable' since they considered themselves upper class. If the respondents did not identify with any level of the middle class, the second question, "What level of the working class would you identify with?" was posed. The major responses were that 289 people considered themselves as "simply" working class and, 133 respondents identified with the upper working class. Seventeen people reappeared in the "inapplicable since upper class category," so it was assumed that they did, in fact, identify strongly with the upper class.

A total of 838 respondents eventually identified with a class and these results were used as the basis for our subjective class categorization. Four major classes were found: an upper class which consists of the 105 people who identified as upper or upper middle class, a middle class comprised of 105 subjects, an upper working class of 133 respondents and, a working class comprised of 289 people.

Since it seemed likely that some respondents would not necessarily belong in the class with which they had identified, a method was devised to verify subjective class identification. This was accomplished by determining the socio-economic status of individuals in terms of occupation, income and education and then, checking this by subjective identification.

Two sets of factors prompted the decision to employ this method: the contributing factors leading to the lack of class awareness, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the discovery that a large proportion of respondents were unwilling, at first, to either state that they belonged to a class in general or to identify with a class in particular. By using this method we are trying to account for arbitrary guessing or false consciousness on the part of the respondent. The suggestion is the people may not know their class position or simply that "people may be wrong about 'subjective status' in the sense that their own prestige is not what they think it is . . ."[3]

If, in fact, a large number of respondents did identify inaccurately, this could cause problems with the analysis. That is, if subjects in vastly different objective class positions identified with the same class it was felt that their attitudinal differences would not be distinct enough from one another in order to provide a strong basis for comparison.

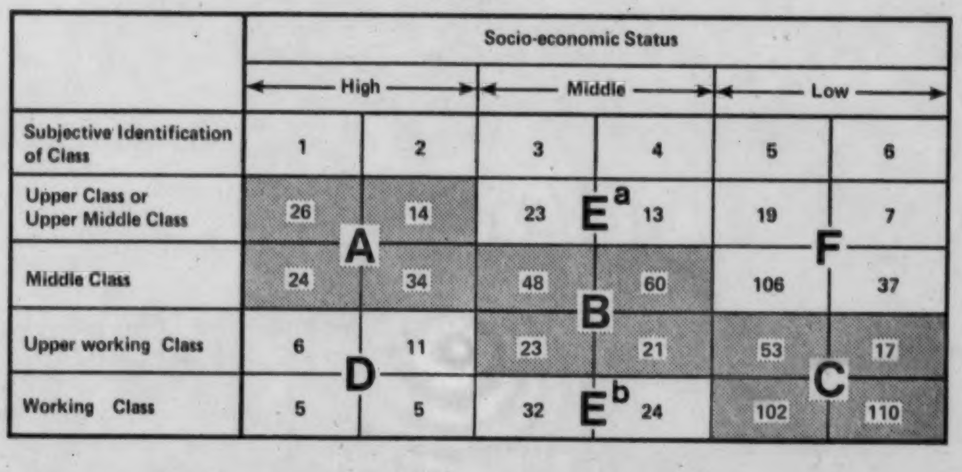
Therefore, in order to obtain fairly distinct classes, we used the following procedure. The first step involved the reorganization of the occupational categories, since they were originally coded according to the Blishen scale, into six major groupings: professionals, managers, white collar workers, tradesmen, blue collar workers, and farm owners and farm managers.[4] Each occupational category was examined separately, in terms of income and education, so that within each occupational category several socio-economic levels could be isolated. This method was used in order to avoid the problem of coding particular occupational categories as belonging to only one class since within certain limits there can be several gradations of income or education among the respondents in an occupational category. For instance, not all blue collar workers should be coded as being working class or lower class on the basis of their being blue collar workers; rather, the class position of a blue collar worker is dependent upon a correlation of income and education as well. This method is, to some extent, valuable when dealing with the problem of coding people such as plumbers who earn high wages. The plumber is not usually considered upper class since his occupation is not prestigious in nature but neither can he be placed in the lower class since his rate of earnings is similarly not indicative of a lower class position. The plumber would probably fall into some level of the middle class according to our method although this would be further dependent upon the type of education which he had received. A total of six socio-economic levels were derived in this manner, ranging from high (indicated by 1) to low (indicated by 6).

The final stage was the derivation of a variable which we termed "class perception." Class perception can be defined as the relationship between subjective identification with a class and actual socio-economic position. Class perception can be accurate or inaccurate depending upon whether status position and subjective class position are consistent. Therefore, in order to determine the variable "class perception," the four subjective class categories (upper, middle, upper working, and working), found in the first steps of the procedure were cross-tabulated with the six socio-economic levels derived in the stage preceding. Diagram 1 illustrates the results of the cross-tabulation.

More specifically, the inaccurate classes were distinguished according to the following criteria. It is felt that those respondents who identified as upper working class or working class, but who tend to have a fairly high SES, are more closely affiliated, at least objectively, with the upper middle, or, at least the middle class. Henceforth, this group of people will be referred to as the "inaccurate perceivers of a lower class position." The people who identified as upper or upper middle class but who have a very low SES would seem to be more appropriately described as working class or lower class. For the remainder of this thesis, this group of people will be labelled as the "inaccurate perceivers of an upper class position." The areas of Diagram 1 cross-cut by the letter "E^a" and "E^b" represents the people who will be referred to in this analysis as the "inaccurate perceivers of a non-middle class position." The logic behind this label is somewhat different than that used for determining the other inaccurate perceivers of class position.

Diagram 1

The Derivation of Accurate and Inaccurate Class Perceivers
(Number of Cases)



	Socio-economic Status					
	← High →		← Middle →		← Low →	
Subjective Identification of Class	1	2	3	4	5	6
Upper Class or Upper Middle Class	26	14	23	13	19	7
Middle Class	24	34	48	60	106	37
Upper working Class	6	11	23	21	53	17
Working Class	5	5	32	24	102	110

[a] The areas which each letter represents were defined in terms of class and are as follows: 'A' represents those respondents who identified accurately as upper class; 'B' represents those respondents who identified accurately as middle class; 'C' represents those people who identified accurately as working class or lower class; 'D' represents the respondents who incorrectly perceived their class position as working class; 'E^a' and 'E^b' are the people who incorrectly perceived their class positions as either upper class or working class but are more closely related to the middle class; and 'F' indicates those people who incorrectly perceived their class position as upper class.

That is, in E^a, the people identified with the upper class but according to their SES, they are in the mid-level range, therefore, they would have been more accurate if they had described themselves as middle class. The area marked E^b refers to the respondents who identified as working class but also have mid-level SES. Since the respondents in both E^a and E^b seem to be more closely affiliated with the middle class, they will be termed the "inaccurate perceivers of a non-middle class position." This avoids the confusion of defining them as inaccurate perceivers of an upper class position or inaccurate perceivers of a lower class position and provides a separate group for comparison with those who accurately perceived their class position as "middle class."

The accurate and the inaccurate class categories constitute the variable which we have termed "class perception." "Class perception" will be extemely valuable in the following chapter since it is meant to demonstrate if, and how, the accurately perceived class positions differ from the inaccurately perceived class positions in terms of their compositions, and in terms of political attitudes. We hope to obtain a less distorted picture of each class, particularly in terms of their attitudinal structures. For instance, given that our analysis of those who perceived their class position accurately and inaccurately is valid, we expect to find the following patterns: the inaccurate perceivers of a lower class position will tend to have political attitudes which are very similar to those of accurate perceivers of upper class; the inaccurate perceivers of a non-middle class position will tend to have political attitudes which are similar to the accurate perceivers of a middle class position; and the inaccurate perceivers of an upper class position will tend to have political attitudes which are comparable to those of the accurate perceivers of a lower class position. If the inaccurate perceivers of a lower class position had not been distinguished from those who identified accurately with the lower class, it may have been the case that the lower class would tend to have upper class attitudes, or at the very least, there may not have been a very great difference between upper class attitudes and lower class attitudes. Conversely, it is equally likely that the inaccurate perceivers might, in some cases, have attitudes which are similar to the class with which they subjectively identified. If the inaccurate perceivers do in all cases have attitudes which resemble those of the class with which they had origininally identified, then perhaps our method for distinguishing objective classes will have to be re-evaluated. If, however, the inaccurate perceivers tend to have fluctuating attitudes where at times their attitudes are similar to their subjective class position and at other times similar to their objective class position then we will be in a position to suggest that our method of analysis is worthwhile.

We expect that in general the accurate perceivers of class position will have more clearly defined political attitudinal structures than those with inaccurate perceptions of class position. Before turning to this question, however, it will be useful to describe the classes with respect to their socio-economic and demographic compositions.

The Socio-Economic and Demographic Composition of the Classes

The socio-economic characteristics. The necessity of separating the inaccurate perceivers of class from the accurate perceivers, at least with respect to occupation, income and occupation as these relate to class perception is indicated by Figures 1, 2 and 3. These figures show that the inaccurately perceived upper class is not similar to the accurately perceived upper class, rather, the inaccurately perceived upper class resembles the accurately perceived lower class; the inaccurately perceived lower class is quite different from the accurately perceived lower class but similar to the accurately perceived upper class; and, the inaccurately perceived non-middle class is, in fact, very much like the accurately perceived middle class.[5]

In view of these findings, it is now possible to redefine the composition of the classes in terms of these three variables. The accurate perceivers of an upper class position are mainly professionals and managers, high income earners--mainly $15,000 per year or more or $12,000-$14,000 per year--who tend to have university educations or have at least finished high school. The accurate perceivers of a middle

Figure 1

Class Perception and Occupation

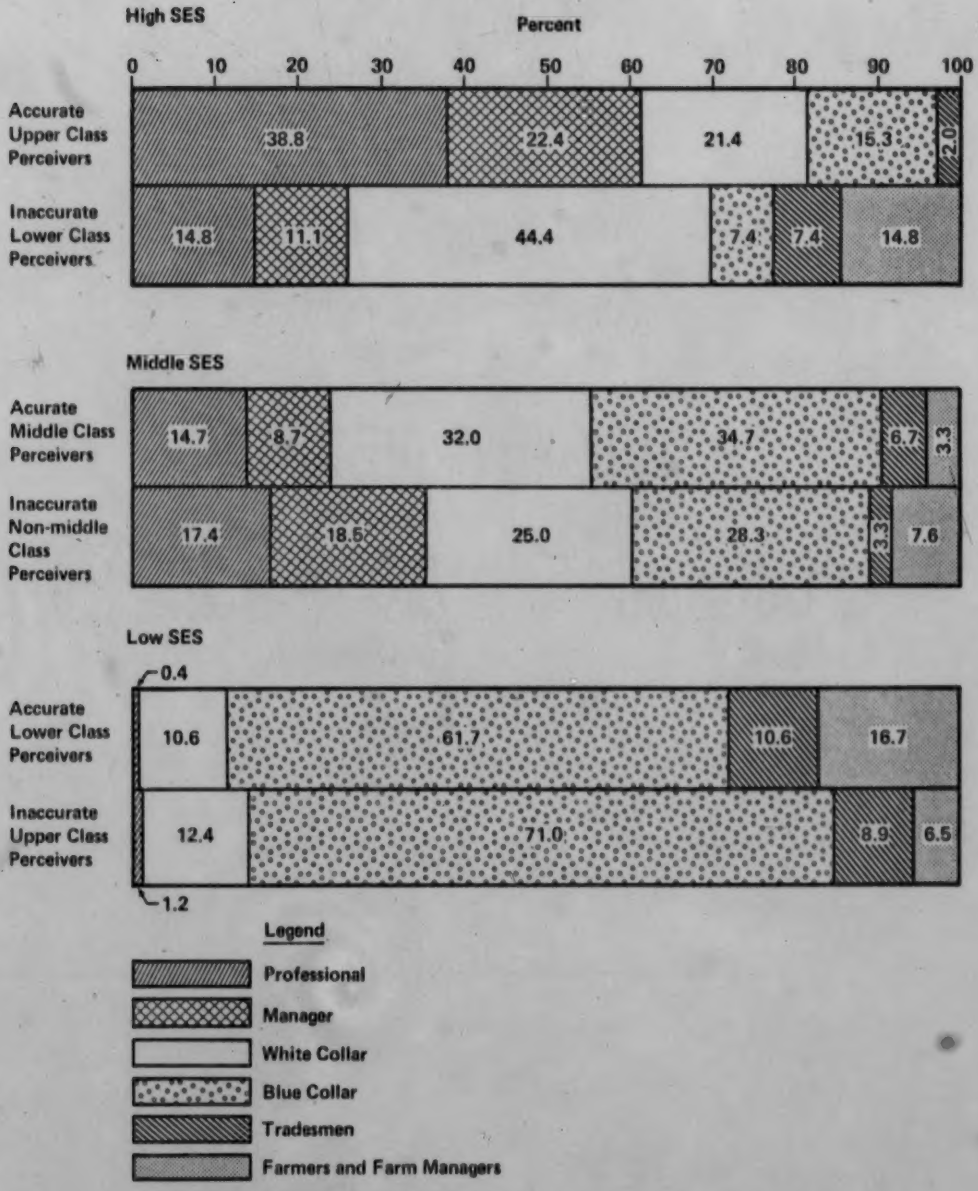


Figure 2

Class Perception and Income

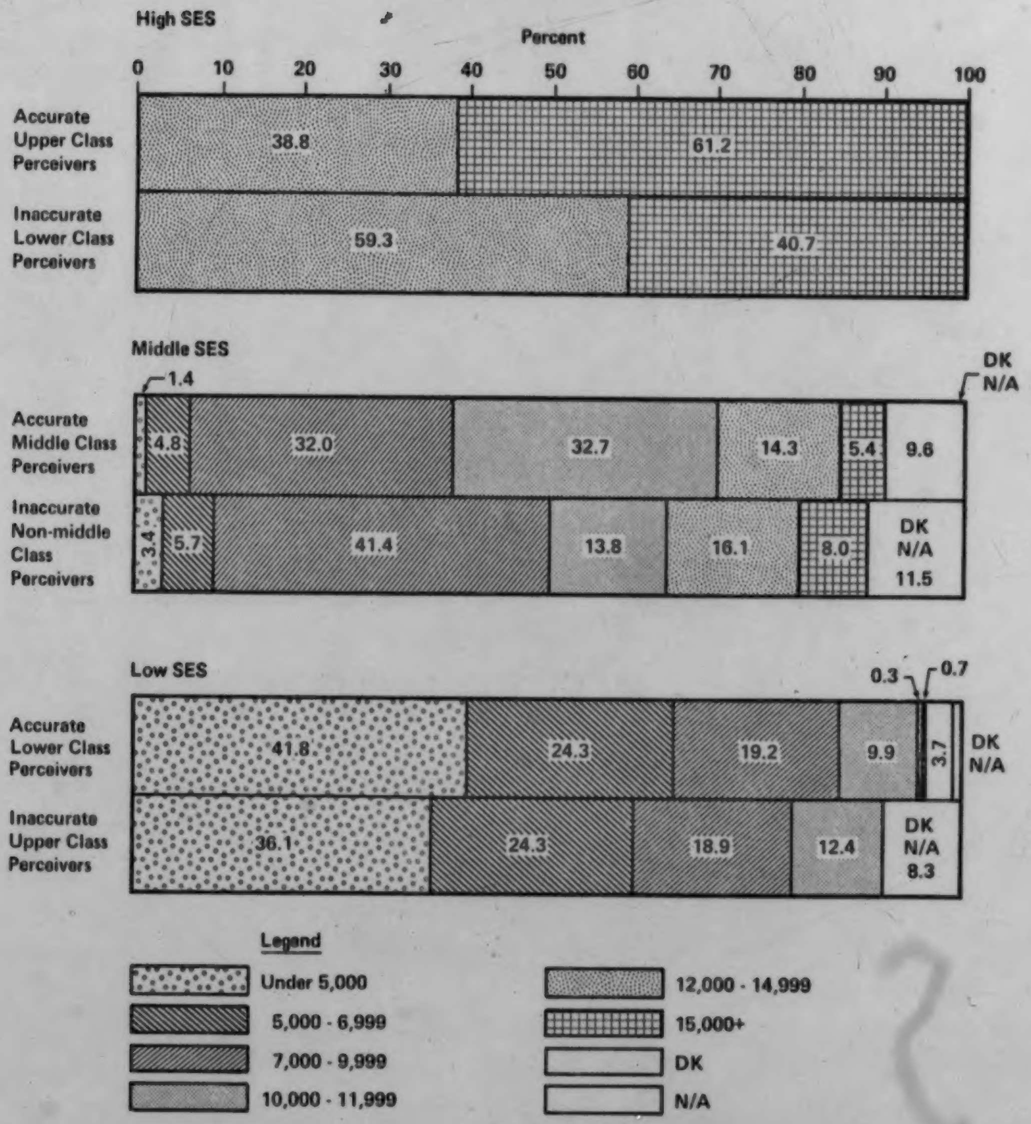
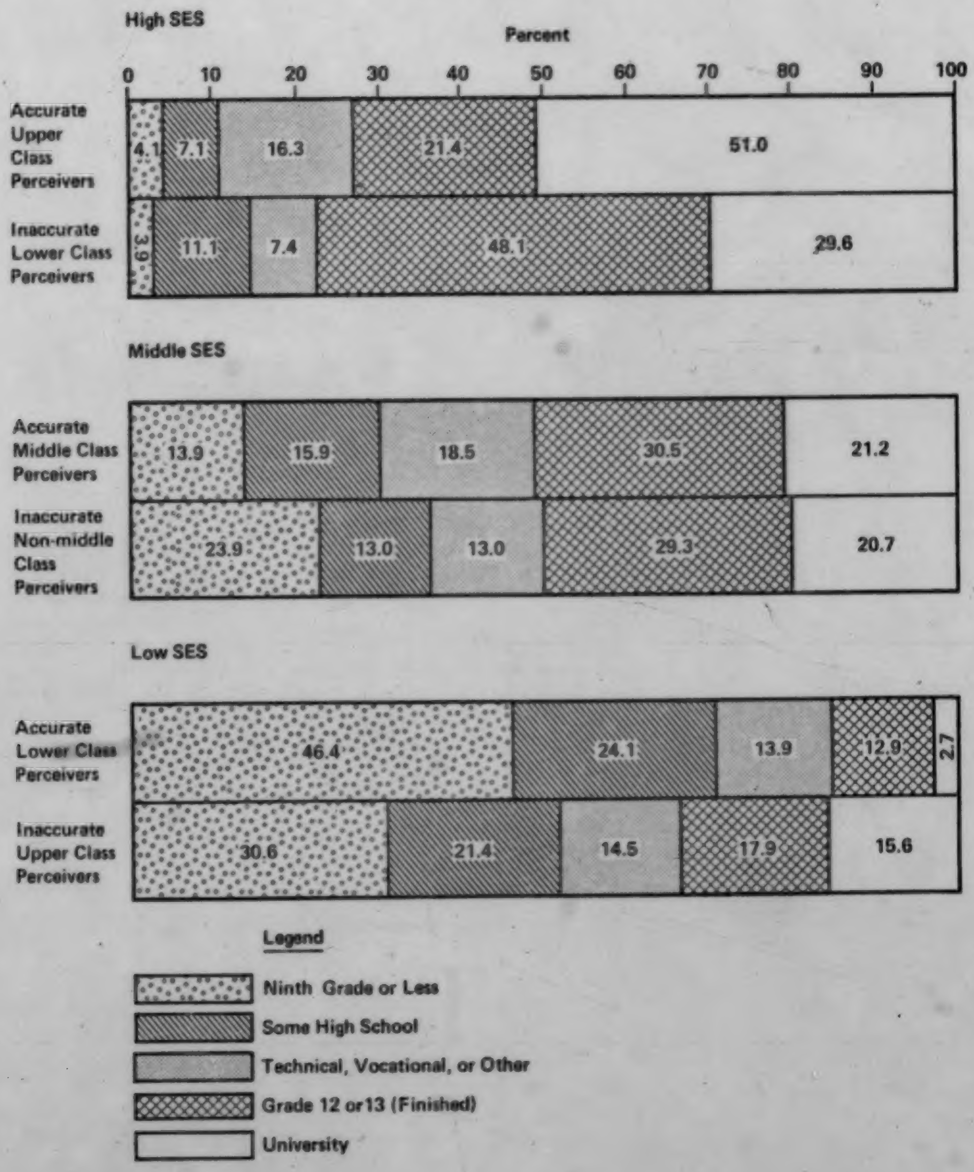


Figure 3

Class Perception and Education



class position are represented by blue collar workers or white collar workers in which a major percentage earn from $7,000-$11,999 per year and, have finished high school or have been to university. The accurate perceivers of a lower class position are basically blue collar workers who tend to have low incomes--under $5,000 per year or from $5,000 to $6,999 per year--and generally have little education--ninth grade or less or, some high school.

The inaccurate classes are characterized by the following features: the "upper" class is composed mainly of blue collar workers who earn under $5,000 per year or from $5,000 to $6,999 per year and is dominated by poorly educated people with grade nine or less, or, some high school training; the "middle" class is made up of a large percentage of white collar and blue collar workers, people who earn from $7,000-$9,999 per year and, high school graduates, university trained people or those who have ninth grade education or less; and, the "lower" class is predominantly white collar, professionals and farmers or farm managers with incomes between $12,000 to $14,000 or, $15,000 or more per year and, high school graduates and people who have attended university. Table 5 sysnthesizes the characteristics of the accurately and inaccurately perceived classes.

The demographic characteristics. The next section will review briefly the characteristics of the individuals in each of the classes. It is assumed that, since the sample

Table 5

A Comparison of the Accurate and Inaccurate Perceivers of Class by the Major Objective Determinants from Highest (1) to Third Highest (3) Percentages of Each

	Accurate Perceivers			Inaccurate Perceivers		
Class	1	2	3	1	2	3
UPPER						
Occupation	Professionals	Managers	White Collar	Blue Collar	White Collar	Tradesmen
Income	$15,000+/yr.	$12,000-$14,999/yr.	-----	Under $5,000/yr.	$5,000-$6,999/yr.	$7,000-$9,999/yr.
Education	University	High School (finished)	Technical, Vocational or Other	Ninth Grade or Less	Some High School	High School (finished)
MIDDLE						
Occupation	Blue Collar	White Collar	Professional	Blue Collar	White Collar	Manager
Income	$7,000-$9,999/yr.	$10,000-$11,999/yr.	$12,000-$14,000/yr.	$7,000-$9,999/yr.	$12,000-$14,999/yr.	$10,000-$11,999/yr.
Education	High School (finished)	University	Technical Vocational or Other	High School (finished)	Ninth Grade or Less	University
LOWER						
Occupation	Blue Collar	Farmer	Tradesmen/ White Collar*	White Collar	Professionals	Farmers
Income	Under $5,000/yr.	$5,000-$6,999/yr.	$7,000-$9,999/yr.	$12,000-$14,999/yr.	$15,000+/yr.	-----
Education	Ninth Grade or Less	Some High School	Technical Vocational or Other	High School (finished)	University	Some High School

*The percentages of tradesmen and white collars are exactly the same.

is a random one, the differences in the characteristics of the classes are probably due to the effect of the class category. For the purposes of this research, a ten per cent or greater variation will constitute a major difference between classes.

Family class. Table 6 depicts the following: 80 per cent of the accurate lower class perceivers stated that their families were working class. This suggests that among the lower class there has been very little class mobility from generation to generation. However, 58.3 per cent of the accurate upper class perceivers indicated that they came from middle class backgrounds which does suggest some class mobility in this case. The inaccurate perceptions of the inaccurate perceivers may be linked to false perceptions of their family backgrounds. For instance, fifty-one per cent of the respondents who inaccurately placed themselves in the upper class indicated that their families were middle class and 74 per cent of the inaccurate lower class perceivers stated that their families were working class. These percentages compare closely with the same classes of accurate perceivers. Finally, 15 per cent more of the inaccurate middle class perceivers than the accurate middle class perceivers regarded their families as working class.

Locale where the respondent grew up. There are two interesting findings to note with respect to this variable.

Table 6

Class Perception and Family Class in Per Cent

	Upper	Middle	Working	Other	Refused	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:						
Upper	5.2	58.3	36.5	0.0	0.0	96
Middle	4.7	42.7	52.0	0.7	0.0	150
Lower	2.7	15.4	80.1	1.4	0.3	292
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:						
Upper	7.6	51.8	40.0	0.6	0.0	170
Middle	3.3	26.1	67.4	3.3	0.0	92
Lower	3.7	18.5	74.1	3.7	0.0	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	4.5	34.1	60.1	1.2	0.1	100.0

First, whereas the highest percentage of the accurate upper class perceivers and the accurate middle class perceivers grew up in cities, the highest percentage of the accurate lower class perceivers grew up on farms. Secondly, over forty per cent of the respondents in each of the inaccurately perceived classes were raised on farms. Table 7 exhibits these observations. These findings are pertinent to the discussion in Chapter III regarding Porter's claim that there has tended to be a feeling of equality among farmers which inhibits them from identifying with a class.

Ethnicity. The accurate upper class and the accurate middle class can be described as being predominantly British since over fifty per cent of these respondents are members of this ethnic group. Table 8 demonstrated that only one-third of the accurate lower class is British and over forty per cent are Eastern Europeans and Western Europeans. There is much less discrepancy among the inaccurately perceived classes: 43 per cent of the inaccurate upper class perceivers, 44 per cent of the inaccurate lower class perceivers, and 47 per cent of the inaccurate middle class perceivers are British. It has been suggested by various authors that ethnicity is highly related to class position[6] in the sense that ethnic groups, such as the British, tend to occupy upper class positions more frequently than members of the Eastern or Western European ethnic groups.

Religion. Alberta has been traditionally a protestant

Table 7

Class Perception and the Locale where the Respondent Grew Up in Per Cent

	Farm	Town	City	Inapplicable	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:					
Upper	24.7	21.6	36.1	17.5	97
Middle	27.3	17.3	36.0	19.3	150
Lower	49.5	14.4	12.7	23.4	291
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:					
Upper	42.8	13.9	22.5	20.8	173
Middle	40.7	25.3	26.4	7.7	91
Lower	40.7	37.0	11.1	11.1	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	39.9	17.6	23.2	19.3	100.0

Table 8

Class Perception and Ethnicity in Per Cent

	British	French	Western European	Eastern European	Canadian and American	Other	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	55.8	2.1	14.7	9.5	10.5	7.4	95
Middle	52.1	8.5	16.2	10.6	7.7	4.9	142
Lower	34.8	8.2	26.6	15.4	6.7	8.2	267
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	43.3	1.9	26.1	12.7	10.2	5.7	157
Middle	47.7	5.7	14.8	15.9	10.2	5.7	88
Lower	44.4	11.1	22.2	11.1	7.4	3.7	27
Percent of Total Sample	44.1	6.1	21.6	13.1	13.1	6.6	100.0

province;[7] the sample reflects this since over fifty per cent of the respondents in each class belong to a protestant denomination. Table 9 demonstrated, however, that there is also a large percentage of Roman and Ukrainian Catholics in both the accurate lower class and in the inaccurate middle class. Several studies have indicated that since religion is related to ethnicity and ethnicity can be related to class position that, therefore, religion is an important variable with regard to the study of class.[8]

Age. Table 10 indicates that there is a slightly higher percentage of individuals who are between the ages of 18 and 25 in the inaccurately perceived classes than in the accurately perceived classes. It is suggested that the 18 to 25 year age group may not have accurate perceptions of class simply because of their youth. About 45 per cent of the accurately perceived lower class and the inaccurately perceived lower class are respondents between the ages of 40 and 65 years of age. Also, a high percentage of the inaccurate upper class perceivers are 40 to 65 years of age. This could be an important determinant of class attitudes toward social welfare issues, especially those which are related to the aged.

Sex. There is a fairly even distribution of the sexes in each class and therefore this is not expected to affect class attitudes to any extent. Table 11 demonstrates

Table 9

Class Perception and Religion in Per Cent

	United Church	Other Traditional Protestant	Roman and Ukrainian Catholic	Evangelical Protestant	Other	None	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	33.3	33.3	13.5	2.1	7.3	10.4	96
Middle	43.7	24.5	19.2	2.0	3.3	7.3	151
Lower	28.4	25.0	25.3	3.1	9.2	8.9	292
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	27.6	31.6	17.2	9.2	8.6	5.7	174
Middle	25.0	21.7	29.3	5.4	9.8	8.7	92
Lower	33.3	25.9	22.2	7.4	11.1	0.0	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	31.4	26.9	21.5	4.4	7.9	7.8	100.0

Table 10

Class Perception and Age in Per Cent

Classes		Age (in years)			
	18-25	26-39	40-65	Over 66	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:					
Upper	8.2	45.9	43.9	2.0	90
Middle	19.7	40.8	34.9	4.6	152
Lower	19.0	23.1	45.1	12.9	295
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:					
Upper	29.5	22.0	39.3	9.2	173
Middle	26.4	38.5	31.9	3.3	91
Lower	22.2	29.6	44.4	3.7	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	20.9	30.6	40.4	8.0	100.0

Table 11

Class Perception and Sex in Per Cent

	Male	Female	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:			
Upper	60.2	39.8	98
Middle	46.1	53.9	152
Lower	50.7	49.3	294
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:			
Upper	40.8	59.2	174
Middle	55.4	44.6	92
Lower	48.1	51.9	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	49.3	50.7	100.0

the only exceptions: just over 60 per cent of the accurate upper class is male and almost 60 per cent of the inaccurate upper class is female.

Marital status. Although over fifty per cent of each class is married, Table 12 demonstrates that there are some differences in the extent to which this is the case. For instance, while almost 95 per cent of the accurate upper class perceivers are married, only 64 per cent of the inaccurate upper class perceivers are married. Twenty-five per cent of the inaccurate middle class perceivers and 24 per cent of the inaccurate upper class perceivers are single; only 3 per cent of the accurate upper class and 10 per cent of the accurate middle class is comprised of single individuals. In an initial test of marital status and class perception we found that, generally, differences in marital status had not affected class perception to any noticable degree.[9]

Employment status. Employment status tends to vary widely from class to class. The following are the characteristics of the classes as indicated by Table 13: the accurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers are essentially employed people; many of the accurate middle class, the accurate lower class and the inaccurate upper class perceivers are housewives; and, almost 14 per cent of the inaccurate upper class perceivers are

Table 12

Class Perception and Marital Status in Per Cent

	Married	Single	Divorced Etc.	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:				
Upper	94.9	3.1	2.0	98
Middle	86.2	10.5	3.3	152
Lower	76.3	12.5	11.2	295
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:				
Upper	63.8	24.1	12.1	174
Middle	71.7	25.0	3.3	92
Lower	88.9	11.1	0.0	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	77.6	14.8	7.6	100.0

Table 13

Class Perception and Employment Status in Per Cent

	Employed	Unemployed	Retired	Housewife	Student	N/A	Total No. of Cases
Accurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	85.7	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	98
Middle	64.5	2.0	3.3	27.0	3.3	0.0	152
Lower	52.2	3.8	10.3	29.6	3.8	0.3	291
Inaccurately Perceived Classes:							
Upper	39.7	1.7	5.2	39.7	13.8	0.0	174
Middle	71.7	2.2	5.4	15.2	5.4	0.0	92
Lower	92.6	0.0	3.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	59.2	2.3	6.0	27.0	5.4	0.1	100.0

students.

Marital status and employment status are linked to class to the extent that married women who describe their employment status as "housewife" may not be as aware of class position as individuals who are employed outside of the home. However, this was not found to be the case.[10]

Summary. The following will outline the major demographic features of each class.

a. Accurate Upper Class: middle class family background; grew up in cities; mainly British; protestant; between 26 and 65 years old; mainly male; married; and, employed.

b. Accurate Middle Class: working class family background; grew up in cities; mainly British; protestant; between 26 and 65 years old; females predominate; married; and, employed or housewives.

c. Accurate Lower Class: working class family background; grew up on farms; British and Western Europeans predominate; protestant; 40 to 65 years old; male; married, and, employed or housewives.

d. Inaccurate Upper Class: middle class family background; grew up on farms; mainly British and Western Europeans; protestant; 40 to 65 years old; female; married and many single; and, employed or housewives.

e. Inaccurate Middle Class: working class family background; grew up on farms; mainly British; protestant;

26 to 65 years old; male; married and many single; and, employed.

f. Inaccurate Lower Class: working class family background; grew up on farms; mainly British and Western Europeans; protestant; 40 to 65 years old; slightly more females; married; and, employed.

The demographic differences among the classes may account for some of the differences in the political attitudinal structures of the classes. This will be pursued in more detail in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1] The sampling procedure of the Alberta 1971 study was province-wide and representative. The province was not sampled in direct proportion rather, a weighted sampling procedure was used to oversample others. For instance, rural dwellers and city people were undersampled while towns-people were over sampled. The exact procedure was as follows.

Samples were drawn from each contrituency in the cities of Edmonton and Calgary. The size of the samples were determined by the size of the enumerated electorate. First, all of the polls within each constituency in these cities were listed. A number of polls were randomly selected and three to five people were chosen from each poll. This same procedure was used for the towns of Red Deer, Grande Prairie, St. Alberta, Medicine Hat, and Lethbridge (East and West) except that these towns were oversampled.

In order to provide a sample of rural Alberta, the province was divided into regions and two constituencies were chosen from each region. From this point on, the same method was used for rural Alberta as was used for the cities.

The interviewers received fairly high refusal rates in the working class areas in Calgary and Edmonton. The return rate was low--between 74 and 75 percent.

[2] The exact sequence of questions used to determine subjective class position are as follows:

1. Do you belong to a class?
2. What class to you identify with?
3. What level of the middle class would you identify with?
4. What level of the working class would you identify with?

[3] W. G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 43.

[4] Similar occupational categories were combined in order to obtain a better frequency distribution. Originally there were not enough people in each occupational category, as outlined by Blishen, for it to be worthwhile to use his 15 general occupational categories.

[5] As a test to determine whether the individuals in the accurately perceived classes had originally been more willing to "agree" that they belonged to a class than the respondents in the inaccurately perceived classes, class perception was cross tabulated by the variable, "Do you belong to a class?" The findings were insignificant at 0.3994.

[6] See Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 60-103, where he discusses ethnicity and class in Canada.

[7] See Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 145-46.

[8] Porter, op. cit.

[9] A test run to determine whether married women were more likely than single women who worked outside the home, to perceive their class position. However, on all tests, there was very little difference between the two groups.

[10] Porter, op. cit.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CLASS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

The second hypothesis stated that class in Alberta could be differentiated by their diverse structures of political attitudes. This hypothesis will be examined with respect to three types of political attitudinal questions: attitudes toward western alienation, attitudes toward social welfare issues as they pertain to potential provincial government policy, and attitudes regarding the extent to which they feel politically potent. The intention is to determine where, if at any point, political attitudes are class-biased.

Attitudes toward Western Alienation

Historically class tensions within Alberta have been unimportant as compared to the conflict of class interests between this "society and the forces of outside capital."[1] There is evidence to suggest that generally Albertans were unified in their struggles against Ottawa and eastern capital for "better deals," and that this unity cut across class boundaries and class interests in the province.[2] Issues related to western alienation will be examined in order to determine whether, in fact, this is still the case or if the issues vary in degrees of importance for different classes.

Five questions will be dealt with and each will be examined separately.

1. All this talk about increasing Western alienation is nonsense; nobody really feels that way around here.

Table 14 demonstrates the following patterns: 23 per cent more of the accurate upper class perceivers as compared to the accurate lower class perceivers disagree with this statement, and, 22 per cent more of the inaccurate upper class perceivers than inaccurate lower class perceivers disagree. This illustrates that there are distinct attitudinal differences between these classes. The accurately and the inaccurately perceived middle classes are, attitudinally, very similar. Overall, the only classes which have clearly distinct views on this issue (i.e., either a high percentage agree or disagree) are the accurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers whereas the other classes tend to be almost equally divided between agreement or disagreement on this issue.

Since the accurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers have very distinct attitudes on this issue as compared to all of the other classes, it was thought that this phenomenon may be related to the fact that these classes are composed of well educated respondents with some knowledge of the issues. The phrase "western alienation" is conceptual and does not refer to the issues related to western alienation.[3] However, this is not

Table 14

Attitudes of the Classes toward "Western Alienation is Nonsense" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	29.5	70.5	95
Middle	45.2	54.8	135
Lower	52.6	47.4	253
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	44.7	55.3	150
Middle	42.5	57.5	80
Lower	66.7	33.3	24
Per Cent of Total Sample	47.8	53.1	100.0

essentially the case. By using regression analysis we found that education accounts for less than one per cent of the variance. In fact, the variables included in the SES scale used to determine objective class position, together, only account for 2.5 per cent of the variance.

It seems to be the case that the respondents attitudes are based on their subjective identification of class rather than objective class position since the respondents in the inaccurately perceived classes have attitudes which resemble those of the class with which they had subjectively identified. In order to present some evidence for this claim objective class attitudes on this issue were tested separately from subjective class attitudes. Table 15 demonstrates that subjective identification of class and resulting attitudes are slightly more signficant than objective class placement and attitudes.

2. The government in Ottawa is run by Toronto and Montreal based people who don't care much about the rest of Canada.

As Table 16 shows, the differences in attitudes of the accurately perceived classes are somewhat more distinct than the differences in attitudes among the inaccurately perceived classes. There is a 21 per cent difference between the attitudes of the accurate upper class perceivers and the accurate lower class perceivers while there is only a 5.1 per cent difference between the inaccurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers.

Table 15

Subjective and Objective Class Attitudes toward "Western Alienation is Nonsense" in Per Cent

Subjective Class Position	Agree	Disagree	Objective Class Position	Agree	Disagree
Upper Class	36.6	63.4	High SES	36.3	63.7
Middle Class	41.8	58.2	Middle SES	44.8	55.2
Working Class	50.7	49.3	Low SES	49.3	50.7
Significance = 0.0101			Significance = 0.0840		

Table 16

Attitudes of the Classes toward "The West is Neglected by Ottawa" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	36.2	63.8	94
Middle	33.3	66.7	144
Lower	57.4	42.6	270
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	41.1	58.9	158
Middle	43.4	56.6	83
Lower	46.2	53.8	26
Percent of Total Sample	45.2	54.8	100.0

It was found that SES controlled only 6 per cent of the variance of the independent variable, and of this, education accounts for 3 per cent. Even though overall the variance accounted for by SES is not high, level of education assumes the most important role.

3. Ottawa uses the French Canadian problem as a red herring to hide the real issue.

This issue, as shown by Table 17, has very different connotations for the accurate upper class and accurate middle class perceivers as compared to the accurate lower class perceivers. A high percentage of the accurate upper class perceivers, 71.4 per cent, disagree while only 39.5 per cent of the accurate lower class perceivers felt the same way. In total, about 32 per cent more of the accurately perceived upper class compared to the accurately perceived lower class disagree.

The inaccurately perceived classes are much less distinct from one another than the accurately perceived classes. For instance, there is only an 11.2 per cent difference between the attitudes of the inaccurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers. Again, with this issue, as with the others discussed thus far, the inaccurate perceivers of class tend to have attitudes which reflect subjective class position rather than their objective class position. This judgement is based on the manner in which the accurately perceived classes have tended to

Table 17

Attitudes of the Class toward "The French Canadian Problem is a Red Herring" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	28.6	71.4	91
Middle	39.3	60.7	135
Lower	60.5	39.5	248
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	45.3	54.7	150
Middle	42.9	57.1	77
Lower	56.5	43.5	23
Per Cent of Total Sample	47.4	52.6	100.0

distribute on the variable. This assumes, however, that the accurate perceivers of class are representative of actual subjective class attitudes.

Two major factors which may contribute to the differing attitudinal structures of the classes are educational level and locale where the respondent grew up. John Barr, for instance, has suggested that

> There unfortunately is a hard core of "pure" anti-French prejudice in parts of the West, particularly in some rural areas and among the less well-educated. This prejudice usually exists in an inverse relationship to the amount of actual contact these persons have had with French-speaking people . . . The major opposition to the "pro-French" movement of national policy over the past decade came from Westerners who had nothing in particular against the French --they simply resented Ottawa's imposition on their style of life and their habits . . .[4]

A regression analysis of the variables in the SES scale demonstrated that SES accounts for 7.178 per cent of the variance; education alone for 2.834 per cent; and locale where the respondent grew up, for a low .093 per cent. Although Barr suggests that education and place of residence, particularly rural, are important variables, our data does not really substantiate his claim.[5]

The factors which did account for almost 20 per cent of the variance were "government distrust" and "western alienation." Both of these variables are scales[6] which seems to illustrate that anti-French prejudice in the West cannot simply be explained by one factor; rather, it is linked to a rather complex set of factors.[7]

4. The great majority of our income tax money is spent in Eastern Canada by Ottawa.

Table 18 illustrates a fairly high degree of attitudinal diversity among the classes of accurate perceivers. For instance, almost 20 per cent more accurate lower class perceivers agreed that our income tax money is spent in Eastern Canada compared to the accurate upper class perceivers. The accurate middle class perceivers tend to be attitudinally aligned with the accurate upper class perceivers.

A very different situation occurred among the inaccurately perceived classes: they tend to have a high degree of attitudinal similarity. There is only a 3.8 per cent discrepancy between the inaccurate upper class perceivers and the inaccurate lower class perceivers. This set of respondents does not have distinct class attitudes on this issue.

The general tendency, for both sets of classes, was for over 50 per cent of each class to agree with the perspective that income tax money is spent in Eastern Canada. This illustrates that there was still a fairly high percentage of respondents, independent of class position, who were of the opinion that the West was still obtaining its "fair share" of national wealth. Historically, it has been the case that Westerners have felt deprived of equal economic opportunities;

Table 18

Attitudes of the Classes toward "Income Tax is Spent in Eastern Canada" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	57.8	42.2	90
Middle	62.7	37.3	126
Lower	76.4	23.6	242
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	70.5	29.5	146
Middle	67.5	32.5	77
Lower	66.7	33.3	24
Per Cent of Total Sample	69.1	30.9	100.0

Table 17 suggests that this situation still exists.

5. Easterners think we are just a bunch of hicks out here.

There was a general tendency to agree with this issue item. Table 19 demonstrates that over fifty per cent of the respondents in each of the accurately perceived classes agreed, and almost fifty per cent of the inaccurately perceived middle class and over fifty per cent of the other inaccurately perceived classes agreed.

In this case, as it was with three of the other four issue items, the inaccurate perceivers of class have attitudes which are similar to the class with which they had subjectively identified. The attitudes of the inaccurate perceivers of class do not seem to reflect objective class position with the exception of the inaccurate middle class perceivers. However, it was noted in the previous chapter that the respondents in the inaccurately perceived middle class did not originally identify as middle class; rather, they identified as upper class or lower class. Therefore, since they were placed in the accurate middle class, it is impossible to know whether they have attitudes which resemble those of the class with which they had subjectively identified.

A summary of class attitudes toward western alienation. Generally, it was found that there is some class bias toward Western alienation issues. In some instances, however, the whole sample tended in the same attitudinal direction.

Overall, the structures of attitudes of the accurately

Table 19

Attitudes of the Classes toward "Easterners Think Westerners are Hicks" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	55.2	44.8	96
Middle	53.6	46.4	138
Lower	65.1	34.9	269
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	52.9	47.1	155
Middle	49.4	50.6	81
Lower	61.5	38.5	26
Per Cent of Total Sample	57.5	42.5	100.0

perceived classes were much more distinct from one another than those of the inaccurately perceived classes. More specifically, the respondents disignated as inaccurate perceivers most often exhibited attitudes which resembled the attitudes of the individuals in the accurate class with which they had subjectively identified, however, they were rarely as strongly in favor or opposed to any particular issue as the respondents in the accurate classes. This proves that, to some extent, C. B. Macpherson's claim is still valid.

Attitudes toward Social Welfare Issues

Four social welfare items will be examined in this section: they deal with taxes, old-age, low-cost housing and the preservation of the institution of the family farm. Social welfare programs are often used for the benefit of disadvantaged groups such as the poor and the aged, therefore it is expected that the classes composed mainly of these types of people will feel that these issues are important while the more advantaged classes will not generally regard these as priority items.

These issues will, hopefully, have more relevance with respect to the objective SES position of the individuals in the classes. For instance, a class which is composed essentially of people with low incomes will most likely be more favorable toward the implementation of low-cost housing than a class of individuals who, on the whole, earn high incomes.

Each of the four social welfare items will be examined separately in the following where a "not pressing" or "moderately important" attitudinal format was employed.

1. Do you feel that government should look after the aged by providing housing, pensions, etc.?

This item did not reveal significant differences between the attitudes of the accurately perceived classes or the inaccurately perceived classes. Table 20 demonstrates that 50 per cent of each class, with the exception of the inaccurately perceived lower class, felt that this issue is very important.

Closer examination reveals that a general trend exists in both class groupings: as SES rises, the percentage of respondents who feel that the issue is very important decreases. Therefore, a higher percentage of the accurate lower class perceivers and the inaccurate upper class perceivers compared to the other classes are of the opinion that this is a very important issue.

An analysis of variance on age and the items included in the SES scale showed that SES accounts for only one percent of the variance with age controlling 4 per cent. Although age is not an extremely important factor, it does play a role. For instance, in the discussion of the demographic composition of the classes in the preceding chapter, we found that the accurately perceived lower class and the inaccurately perceived upper class are composed of high

Table 20

Attitudes of the Classes toward "The Provision of Housing, Pensions, etc., for the Aged" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	10.3	30.9	58.8	97
Middle	17.9	28.5	53.6	151
Lower	10.2	25.3	64.5	293
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	8.7	32.4	59.0	173
Middle	19.6	28.3	52.2	92
Lower	7.4	44.4	48.1	27
Percent of Total Sample	12.2	28.9	58.8	100.0

percentages of people over 66 years of age, at least in comparison to the other classes. Table 20 reveals that these classes do, in fact, have the highest percentages of respondents who viewed this issue as being very important.

Generally, though, it is not unusual to find a high percentage of respondents in each class who view this issue as being very important since growing old is common to all, regardless of class position.

2. Do you feel that the government should grant more money to local governments to help keep property taxes down?

Table 21 depicts the following: in both class groupings, there exists a tendency for respondents in low SES positions to regard this issue as being "very important" while respondents in higher class positions deemed this issue "not pressing." For instance, 10 per cent more of the accurate lower class perceivers than the accurate upper class perceivers felt that grants to keep property taxes down was a very important issue; 22 per cent more of the inaccurate upper class perceivers (low on SES) than the inaccurate lower class perceivers (high on SES) agreed that this issue is very important.

In order to determine the extent to which subjective or objective class position could have influenced the attitudinal position of the classes, subjective class position (i.e., the class position which respondents had originally chosen), and objective class position (i.e., our SES

Table 21

Attitudes of the Classes toward the "Granting of More Money to the Local Governments to Keep Property Taxes Down" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	41.8	25.5	32.7	98
Middle	40.3	24.2	35.6	149
Lower	26.8	30.3	42.9	287
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	33.1	30.2	36.7	169
Middle	36.8	26.4	36.8	87
Lower	51.9	33.3	14.8	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	34.3	28.3	37.5	100.0

placement of the respondents into categories) were cross-tabulated separately. Table 22 illustrates that the attitudes toward this issue are highly related to objective class position and not to subjective class.

A conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that, in this case, it was valuable to have distinguished between the accurate identifiers and inaccurate identifiers of class otherwise the classes would not have been shown up as being attitudinally distinct.

3. Do you feel that the government should have a program to preserve the family farm?

On this issue, the accurately perceived classes demonstrated a greater proclivity for attitudinal difference than the inaccurately perceived classes. For instance, Table 23 demonstrated that 40 per cent or more of the respondents in each of the inaccurately perceived classes felt that preservation of the family farm was very important. Only an 11 per cent difference exists between the inaccurate upper class and the inaccurate lower class while there is a 29.5 per cent difference between the accurate upper class and the accurate lower class.

Almost 12 per cent of the variance can be accounted for by SES, age and locale where the respondent grew up. Socio-economic status accounts for a total of 8.5 per cent of the variance and, occupation, one of the components of the scale, accounts for almost 4 per cent by itself. This

Table 22

Subjective and Objective Class Attitudes toward the "Granting of More Money to the Local Government to Keep Property Taxes Down" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important
Subjective Class:			
Upper	39.8	27.2	33.0
Middle	35.6	28.8	35.6
Lower	32.3	28.3	39.4
Objective Class:			
High SES	44.6	27.7	27.7
Middle SES	38.1	25.7	36.2
Low SES	30.1	30.9	39.0

Subjective Class Significance = 0.5695
Objective Class Significance = 0.0003

Table 23

Attitudes of the Classes toward "Preservation of the Family Farm" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	46.4	21.6	32.0	97
Middle	27.0	23.6	49.3	148
Lower	13.9	24.7	61.5	288
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	15.3	32.9	51.8	170
Middle	26.7	29.1	44.2	86
Lower	37.0	22.2	40.7	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	22.5	26.2	51.2	100.0

is a fairly large percentage since the overall percentage of farmers in the sample is quite small.[8] It is suggested that farmers would be the most likely occupational group to consider preserving the family farm as an important issue.

When "locale where the respondent grew up" was controlled for, it was found that individuals who grew up on farms were more likely to consider this issue very important as compared to those who had grown up in either a town or a city. This tended to be the case independent of class position. In the discussion of the demographic compositions of the classes, we found that some of the classes--the accurate lower class and the inaccurately perceived upper class--are composed of a greater percentage of farm-raised respondents than any of the other classes. It is not unusual to find rural-born individuals in low SES position. For instance, Porter suggests that as the farm worker "becomes displaced by mechanization," he migrates to urban areas to find work, but often encounters problems because he lacks a skill or a trade.

> The necessary research to support the argument fully has not yet been undertaken, but the evidence is fairly conclusive that the unskilled rural worker who migrates to the cities ends up in the lower level of the new occupational world.[9]

By definition, unskilled workers do not tend to have extensive educational training, and therefore do not have high paying jobs. Since the lower class is composed of unskilled workers with low incomes and poor educations, the ex-farm worker, who is unskilled, would most likely occupy a position in the lower class. This is not only the case for farm workers, but, as Leo Johnson has suggested, also for farmers who have been forced to move to urban centres and become low-level wage labourers. Johnson states that the farmers suffer a "severe erosion of status,"[10] i.e., they fall from a petite bourgeois position to a lower class position. It is proposed that many of the farmers in low SES positions are individuals who have experienced this type of problem. Therefore, if these farmers and farm workers are, essentially, displaced people, it is understandable why they would be interested in a program to preserve the small family farm.

4. Do you feel that the government should provide low-cost housing for those on low incomes?

As shown by Table 24, the issue of low-cost housing is most important for the classes characterized by respondents with low incomes such as those in the accurate lower class and inaccurate upper class. In fact, the general trend is that as SES position rises, enthusiasm for this program decreases.

An analysis of variance demonstrated that 7 per cent is controlled by SES and that income accounted for almost 3 per cent of the total. This is not extremely high, however, in terms of this study more of the variance is accounted for by SES in this case than in many of the others.

Table 24

Attitudes of the Classes toward "The Provision of Low-Cost Housing for People on Low Incomes" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	29.6	34.7	35.7	98
Middle	20.1	34.2	45.6	149
Lower	15.9	26.3	57.8	289
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:				
Upper	12.2	32.6	55.2	172
Middle	26.1	40.2	33.7	92
Lower	33.3	33.3	33.3	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	19.2	31.8	49.0	100.0

In order to examine the importance of breaking the sample into accurate and inaccurate perceivers, subjective and objective class attitudes were examined separately. Table 25 portrays the findings: subjective class and attitudes toward low-cost housing is somewhat less significant than objective class position and attitudes toward this issue. Although this is not an extremely revealing finding, it does demonstrate that there was some value to having made the distinction between accurate and inaccurate perceivers.

A summary of class attitudes toward social welfare issues. Generally, the attitudinal structures of the classes were not diametrically opposed but they were different. A general pattern emerged. On all of the social welfare items, there was a definite tendency for the classes composed of individuals in low SES positions (the accurately perceived lower class and the inaccurately perceived upper class), to have structures of attitudes opposed to the classes composed of individuals in higher SES position (the accurately perceived upper class and the inaccurately perceived lower class). The middle classes in both groupings demonstrated a propensity for disorganization: on some of the social welfare items their attitudes were closer to those of the upper class, and on others, their attitudes resembled those of the lower class.

Since the inaccurately perceived classes exhibited attitudes similar to the accurate classes with which we

Table 25

Subjective and Objective Class Attitudes toward "The Provision of Low-Cost Housing for People on Low Incomes" in Per Cent

	Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important		Not Pressing	Moderately Important	Very Important
Subjective Class:*				Objective Class:**			
Upper	26.9	36.5	36.5	High SES	30.8	34.6	34.6
Middle	16.8	33.7	49.5	Med. SES	22.8	35.7	41.4
Working	19.7	28.5	51.9	Low SES	14.4	28.5	57.1

*x^2 = 10.86236 with 4 d.f.
Significance = 0.0282

**x^2 = 36.95483 with 6 d.f.
Significance - 0.0000

thought they should have originally identified, this tends to demonstrate that the categorization of classes into accurate and inaccurate perceivers is valuable.

Class Attitudes toward Political Potency

These items examine the classes to determine the extent to which they feel effective in the political realm. Class position should make some difference in terms of attitudes toward political potency. For instance, upper class respondents generally have more education which means that they are better equipped to know, or determine, what is taking place in the political arena. Also higher incomes give upper class individuals a greater opportunity to become personally involved in politics. In contrast to this, people with less education and poorer incomes are not usually as aware of the immediate political issues, and further, do not have the time nor money to become politically involved.[11]

In order to determine whether class is related to feelings of political potency in Alberta, two items are examined. An agree-disagree format was used.

1. Politics is too complicated for the average man.

We found, as indicated in Table 26, that over fifty per cent of all of the classes in both groupings agreed that politics is too complicated for the average man. However, in the classes composed of respondents in low SES positions, a much greater percentage of people agreed with the statement

Table 26

Attitudes of the Classes toward "Politics is too Complicated" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	55.7	44.3	97
Middle	72.5	27.5	149
Lower	84.6	15.4	285
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	79.1	20.9	172
Middle	71.6	28.4	88
Lower	63.0	37.0	27
Per Cent of Total Sample	75.7	24.3	100.0

than in the classes composed of individuals in higher SES positions. It was assumed, therefore, that socio-economic status accounted to some extent for the varying degree of consonance. In fact, SES acounts for 7 per cent of the variance.[12]

It is suggested that the reference to "average man" in this question may have caused some semantic difficulties for the respondent; responses could vary depending upon how an individual interprets the meaning of average man. Table 26 indicates that the accurate lower class perceivers and middle class perceivers consider themselves to be more "average" than the accurate upper class perceivers. Generally a high percentage of all of the respondents in the inaccurately perceived classes regarded themselves as "average."

2. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

The second political potency item demonstrated that major percentages of all of the classes, accurately or inaccurately perceived, were inclined to disagree: Table 27 exhibits these findings. However, a trend is for a greater percentage of respondents in the classes composed of people in higher SES positions to agree that they do have a "say" about what the government does whereas a high percentage of individuals in the lower SES position do not. Using an analysis of variance, it was found that SES accounts for 8.8

Table 27

Attitudes of the Classes toward "People Like No Don't Have Any Say about What the Government Does" in Per Cent

	Agree	Disagree	Total No. of Cases
Accurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	13.3	86.7	98
Middle	29.7	70.3	148
Lower	47.7	52.3	281
Inaccurate Perceivers of Class:			
Upper	40.8	59.2	169
Middle	29.1	70.9	86
Lower	22.2	77.8	27
Percent of Total Sample	36.0	64.0	100.0

per cent.

In this question, "people like me" refers to how the individual interprets his own position in the social structure. An individual in a low SES position has little confidence in his ability to influence government policy because of lack of contacts, lack of money, and probably most of all, a lack of education whereas individuals in higher SES positions tend to feel more powerful.[13] Table 27 demonstrates that the classes composed of individuals who are in low SES positions indicate feelings of less political potency than those in higher SES positions.

A summary of class attitudes toward feelings of political potency. The conclusion that can be drawn from the findings for both political potency issues is that the people who are in low SES class positions tend to think that they are less capable of having any effect on politics than people who are in higher SES class positions.

We also discovered that the accurately perceived classes were more attitudinally distinct from one another than the inaccurately perceived classes.

Some Concluding Remarks

The findings in this section established that classes in Alberta do have differing structures of political attitudes; however, this has to be specified to some extent. Although class attitudes on issues were not always extremely diverse some trends were discovered.

For instance, particularly among the accurately perceived classes,a dichotomy between the structures of political attitudes of the upper class and the lower class were evidenced; since these two classes are, by definition, at two ends of the socio-economic spectrum, their structures of political attitudes also tended in these separate directions. In general, all three of the accurately perceived classes demonstrated biases which were linked to the socio-economic status positions of the people in each class. Judging from the regularity of the types of political attitudes which the accurately perceived classes displayed, there tended to be a consciousness of class position and corresponding attitudes.

The inaccurately perceived classes, however, were not quite predictable in terms of political attitudes. For example, on the western alientation issues, the inaccurate perceivers of class tended to have attitudes which resembled those of the class with which they had originally identified. That is, although the inaccurate upper class is similar to the accurate lower class in terms of socio-economic status, the inaccurate upper class perceivers had attitudes which tended in the same direction as those of the accurate upper class. The same held true for the inaccurate lower class perceivers. The inaccurate middle class perceivers were most often very closely aligned with the accurate middle class perceivers. With almost all of the other political attitudinal items (social welfare, political potency), the inaccurate perceivers of class were more inclined to have attitudes which resembled those attitudes of the class with which we felt they should have identified (according to objective socio-economic factors) and not the class with which they did subjectively identify. Also, the inaccurately perceived classes were not as attitudinally distinct from one another as the accurately perceived classes. On the basis of this evidence, it seems reasonable to suggest that the individuals in the inaccurately perceived classes are somewhat confused with respect to class, or, to have false consciousness of their class positions.

Originally, it was thought that if the inaccurate perceivers of class position had not been separated from the accurate perceivers of class, the results of the analysis would have been very insignificant. That is, without having distinguished between these groups of class perceivers, the classes would have appeared to be very similar in terms of structures of political attitudes. However, we found that only in some instances did this appear to be the case. It is suggested that if more issues had been tested, especially social welfare types, then we may have found more evidence to support the method.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] C. B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 246.

[2] See the discussion of Western alienation in Chapter III.

[3] The Western alienation questions were asked in the following order:

1. Ottawa uses the French Canadian problem as a red herring to hide the real issues.
2. Easterners think we are just a bunch of hicks out here.
3. The government in Ottawa is run by Toronto and Montreal based people who don't care about the rest of Canada.
4. All this talk about increasing Western alienation is a lot of nonsense. Nobody really feels that way around here.
5. The great majority of our income tax money is spent in Eastern Canada by the Ottawa government.

It should be noted that the general question on Western alienation which states the "Western alienation is nonsense" was intermingled among the specific questions.

[4] J. J. Barr, "Beyond Bitterness," in The Unfinished Revolt, ed. J. J. Barr and Owen Anderson (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), p. 17.

[5] Since we could not test for where the respondent now resides, it was not possible to accurately test Barr's contention. Also, it should be noted that the rural population was undersampled therefore this finding may not be representative.

[6] The "government distrust" scale is composed of the variables:

1. I don't think the government cares much what people like me think, and
2. Generally, those elected to the Legislature soon lose touch with the people.

The "Western alienation" scale is composed of the variables:

1. Western Canadians have to unite behind one party to get anything out of Ottawa,
2. Easterners think we are just a bunch of hicks out here,

3. The government in Ottawa is run by Toronto and Montreal based people who don't care about the rest of Canada, and
4. The great majority of our income tax money is spent in Eastern Canada by the Ottawa government.

[7] See Morris Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis (New York/London: Basic Books, Inc., 1968) for discussion of "block booked" variables.

[8] The percentage of farmers is small because the rural areas were undersampled.

[9] J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 144.

[10] L. Johnson, "The Development of Class in Canada in the Twentieth Century," in Capitalism and the National Question, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 150.

[11] This phenomenon is referred to in Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley A Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," The Journal of Politics 23 (1961) pp. 477-506; Carole Pateman, "Political Culture, Political Structure and Political Change," British Journal of Political Science I (July 1971), p. 291; Ada Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review LXIV (June 1970), pp. 389-410; and David Nachmias, "Modes and Types of Political Alienation," British Journal of Sociology 25 (December 1974).

[12] This was determined using regression analysis.

[13] Refer to footnote 11.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Alberta's class structure appears to have changed to some extent since the early 1940's as described by Macpherson, Burnet, and Morton. The class structure of the province had become much more diverse by 1971 and was no longer dominated by one major class--the petite bourgeoisie; rather, the society was stratified in terms of at least three major classes--upper, middle and lower.

One of the reasons for the change in the class composition of the province is the declining number of independent commodity producers (especially farmers), described by Macpherson as petite bourgeois. This class could no longer be considered as the dominant class in Alberta. The fact that the petite bourgeois was no longer dominant also suggested that there had been an overall change in the class structure of the province.

Another reason why the petite bourgeoisie could no longer be considered a dominant class was that since the 1940's the farmer's class status has gradually declined. Johnson, for instance, suggested that most farmers are no longer petite bourgeois but are, rather, lower class. He as well as Porter stated that the ex-farm population (who are for the most part unskilled), have found themselves in the urban lower class working as wage labourers. The data was able to substantiate these claims to some extent since farmers or people with farm backgrounds tended to occupy lower class positions.

The remnants of one-time dominance of the farmer and the farm population, however, could still be traced in Alberta in 1971. Even though Alberta was a more urban than rural province, almost 40 per cent of the total sample had farm backgrounds. This investigation demonstrated that although a high percentage of the sample had farm heritages, a very low percentage were actually engaged in agriculture. Other data had shown that this decline in number of people involved in agricultural production is in fact very representative of the actual situation in Alberta in 1971.[1]

In an examination of the structures of class attitudes toward 1971 political issues, the extent of class diversity in Alberta, as compared with the period up to the early 1940's, was tested further. In writings which discussed Alberta's earlier period, the impression was given that there were not diverse classes or political attitudes in the province but that everyone had fundamentally the same political interests. However, not only did we find that more than one class could be distinguished in Alberta in 1971, we also demonstrated a tendency toward a distinctiveness of class attitude structures.

These findings generated two questions: one related to "practical politics"; and the other, to methodology or the problem of determining accurately and inaccurately perceived class positions.

The question of "practical politics" is important for the following reason. In Chapter I we suggested that if distinct classes were found to exist, and if these classes also had fairly distinct political attitude structures, then at some point they would have to be represented by different political parties. This implies a change in the party system in Alberta from dominant one-party rule which supposedly represents all Albertans, regardless of class position, to a party system where opposing classes are represented by different parties. This may mean that an opposition party would occupy a more meaningful position in Alberta's legislature. Up to the present, opposition parties in Alberta have never been in this situation.

However, in order to examine this question further and make any substnatial predictions, the political attitudes of classes would have to be tested longitudinally to determine whether they are becoming more disparate. At this time, we can only suggest the possibility.

The second question generated by the research is related to the discrepancy between the respondent's personal identification of class and our placement of him into a class position using objective criteria. A distinction was made between accurate perceivers and inaccurate perceivers of class position on this basis. Approximately thirty-five per cent of the sample were categorized as inaccurate perceivers of class because their subjective identification of class position did not correlate with our objective categorization. That is, their subjective perception of class position was not indicative of their "actual" socio-economic positions and therefore it was reasoned that the inaccurate perceivers had a false consciousness of class position, by definition. It was also suggested that our findings would be less significant if the accurate class perceivers had not been separated from the inaccurate class perceivers. This was based on the assumption that people generally tend to demonstrate attitudes which are representative of their "life situation" or objective class standing. The inaccurate class perceivers did exhibit attitudes which corresponded to their objective class standing on the social welfare and political potency issues to some degree but not with the western alienation issues where they were attitudinally similar to the accurate perceivers in the class with which they had first identified. This could be related to the fact that the western alienation issues are not tied directly to everyday problems such as those which the social welfare issues top, but are more conceptual or require fairly extensive knowledge. This suggests however, that the inaccurate class perceivers are not conscious of their actual class positions otherwise their attitudes would have reflected this in all cases as was indicated by the accurate class perceivers. Instead, we found that, overall, the structures of political attitudes of the inaccurate class perceivers were not as predictable as those of the accurate class perceivers. Each of the inaccurately perceived classes tended to fluctuate depending upon the political issue: at times their attitudes were similar to the class with which they indentified, and at other times their attitudes more closely approximated the class with which we thought they should have identified (according to objective socio-economic status factors). The phenomenon of fluctuating attitudes provides some validity for the use of the method for this analysis. It is suggested that if more issues, especially of the social welfare type, could have been tested, then our method may have been verified further.

This raises two essential questions: are the inaccurate perceivers actually falsely conscious; or, were the wrong objective criteria used for determining objective class position? Several factors point to the conclusion that we did not necessarily use the wrong objective criteria; rather, some of the subjects did have a false consciousness of class position. Sixty-five per cent of the sample did identify their class positions accurately, and thus their subjective identification and our objective categorization did correlate. That is, having determined socio-economic class position without prior knowledge of how respondents had subjectively identified themselves and later finding that they had identified with a class which made sense given their socio-economic standing tended to support the validity of our scheme, since, if we had used the wrong indicators, then a much smaller percentage of the sample would have been categorized as accurate perceivers. Secondly, the accurate perceivers of class were found to have structures of political attitudes which were reasonable with respect to class position. This would not be the expected outcome if they had been assigned inappropriate objective class positions.

The question of why thirty-five per cent of the sample inaccurately perceived their class positions still remains. The three factors suggested in Chapter III (east-west antagonism which overpowers class antagonism in the province, the influence of the party system, and "middle level classlessness"), might account for some of the problems with class identification. An answer which arose as a result of the analysis was that inaccurate class identification is related to the locale where the respondent grew up. That is, a high percentage of each of the inaccurately perceived classes (forty per cent or more), are composed of individuals with farm backgrounds. In comparison, a smaller percentage of accurately perceived classes, overall, had respondents in this category. Porter's claim that people with farm heritages are classless is thus supported to some extent at the same time that the notion of increasing class relevance is suggested by the decline in numbers of such people in the future.

The finding that thirty-five per cent of the sample identified inaccurately with a class and also that the inaccurately perceived classes had less consistent structures of political attitudes (with respect to class position), is important with respect to the question of "practical politics." In order for a party system to develop in which different political parties represent different classes and their particular political interests, the people in the society have to be consious enough to know to which class they belong and which policies or political stands are in their best interests.

> The internal cohesiveness of a social group and its power to act as a unit in competition with other social groups depend to a large extent on the extent to which members of the group are aware of the reality of the group and their own membership in it.[2]

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1] See the discussion of the decline of the numbers of people involved in agricultural production in section II of Chapter II.

[2] R. H. Thouless, General and Social Psychology, quoted in Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 75.

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